## *Educational achievement of Mexican immigrants in the face of adversity : counter-history and counter-narratives of community college graduates in Arizona*

Castro Salazar, Ricardo

# Educational achievement of Mexican immigrants in the face of adversity:

# Counter-history and counter-narratives of community college graduates in Arizona


**Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**M.Ed., Universidad La Salle-Ciudad de México**
**MA, Universiteit Van Amsterdam**
**MA, University of Arizona**
**BS, Instituto Tecnológico de Sonora**


**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education**




**School of Education**

**Durham University**


**2008**

**Viva Voce Examination**

Date: 29th February 2008
Time: 14:00
Room: ED.139
Venue: School of Education
Durham University
Leazes Road, Durham DH1 1TA
United Kingdom

| | |
|---|---|
| External Examiner | Professor Christopher Pole, Nottingham Trent University<br>School of Social Sciences |
| Internal Examiner | Professor Michael S. Byram, Durham University<br>School of Education |
| Chair | Dr. Sam H. Hillyard, Durham University<br>School of Applied Social Sciences |
| Thesis Supervisor | Professor Carl A. Bagley, Durham University<br>School of Education |

# Statement of Copyright ©

A Kelley y Ana, sin cuyo sol nada tendría sentido: sin quienes no hay yo.

A mi familia mexicana, pues mis actos son también los suyos.

A mi familia estadounidense, que me hace a salir de mí.

Al Dr. Roy Flores, quien me incitó a redescubrirme y a reinventarme, a ser otro.

A mis innumerables progenitores intelectuales, en especial a la Dra. Adela Allen y a los profesores Carl Bagley y Michael Byram cuya influencia es incalculable. A quienes me llevaron sobre sus hombros, en ocasiones sin saberlo yo y a veces sin saberlo ellos. A todos ellos, quienes me dan plena existencia.

...nunca la vida es nuestra, es de los otros,
la vida no es de nadie, todos somos
la vida –pan de sol para los otros,
los otros todos que nosotros somos–,
soy otro cuando soy, los actos míos
son más míos si son también de todos,
para que pueda ser he de ser otro,
salir de mí, buscarme entre los otros,
los otros que no son si yo no existo,
los que me dan plena existencia,
no soy, no hay yo, siempre somos nosotros...

Octavio Paz (1990: 28-30). *Piedra de Sol.*

Todo está escondido en la memoria, refugio de la vida y de la historia... La memoria despierta para herir a los pueblos dormidos que no la dejan vivir libre como el viento... La memoria estalla hasta vencer a los pueblos que la aplastan...

León Gieco. *La Memoria.*

What we believe depends on what we learn.

Ludwig Wittgenstein (1969: 37e). *On Certainty*

# ABSTRACT

Researchers have documented extensively how students of Mexican origin are not succeeding academically in the same proportion as the rest of the population. According to different researchers the educational failure of many students of Mexican origin occurs in the context of challenges such as poverty, language, and culture and is particularly informed by subtle and more overt forms of racism throughout their schooling. The majority of students of Mexican origin who graduate from high school and enter higher education enroll in community colleges.

Of all people of Mexican origin in the U.S., a large proportion (41.1%) is made of first-generation immigrants. In general, first-generation immigrants tend to have lower incomes and less education than their children and grandchildren born in the U.S. At the same time, despite the great numbers of Mexican immigrant students now attending U.S. schools, their needs and challenges are scarcely acknowledged by policymakers. Undocumented immigrants face even harsher educational challenges as they live in an environment of racial adversity and xenophobic nativism. Because they are unable to work "legally," or qualify for government school loans and grants, their most accessible educational choice is the community college.

The purpose of this three year study was to acknowledge the *counter stories* and learn from the *counter life histories* of academically successful immigrants of Mexican origin as they navigate across and between historical, socio-economic, political and cultural boundaries, barriers and contexts. The research is grounded in the experiences, voices and perspectives of six individuals who attended a community college in Arizona as part of their personal educational journey. The study utilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) as an interpretive approach to both situate and challenge ahistorical, decontextualized, and one-dimensional explanations of Mexican American underachievement. The in-depth interviewing methodology was conceived as a tool to talk with and back to the Mexican immigrant community; an essential purpose of the research being to capture the lived experiences of academically successful immigrants, and to incite reflection and mutual learning from their counter narratives and sources of agency.

In order to locate and situate the interviewees in a context the research provides a critical reading of the literature to explore, uncover and recover the (counter)historical, ideological, psychological, and socio economic discourses in which racism has been declared virtually eliminated, while colonized Mexican origin minorities continue to be victimized and oppressed. Subsequently, the voices and life histories of six Mexican immigrants from economically disadvantaged backgrounds who 'against the odds' graduated from a community college in Arizona are revealed in this study. Significantly, all of the participants have been undocumented immigrants. Two of them have since become legal residents and citizens through different opportunities.

The six stories in this research show that in order to achieve a community college degree, the interviewees utilized their family support systems, developed social networks, and preserved their values and culture. Additionally, their stories suggest that the flexibility and responsiveness of educational institutions can be important factors in the educational achievement of immigrant students. As revealed by the narratives, programs for minorities, scholarships, and support from counselors and tutors helped the participants achieve their goals. The narratives also corroborate previous findings that recommend the creation of caring environments with staff of Mexican origin and support services that are culturally sensitive.

Consistent with a CRT approach, the life history/narrative methodology functioned as a means to legitimize, empower and promote the voices of the Mexican immigrant participants; the evoking of their experiential knowledge helping the participants to create their own shared memory and history while enriching anti-colonialist critiques of the dominant social order. The research recovered personally for the participants, and uncovers more widely for a non-Hispanic audience, how the negative perceptions and castigation of people of Mexican origin are interrelated with the power relations and social structure in the United States. The participants' counter-narratives, situated in their counter-historical context help to challenge the colonizers' beliefs; and oppose the exclusionary notion of who "belongs" in the United States. Information from the life histories presented in this research can help to create the conditions for a more successful and egalitarian educational environment for other people of Mexican origin whose voices and history have been silenced by a racially hegemonic narrative.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

> Thus a culture of empire... contributes significantly to the shaping of public education involving Mexican immigrants. In the final analysis, the origins of the Chicano minority (and thus Chicano history) and the educational experience of the Chicano community is inseparable from the economic colonization of Mexico (Fernandez, 2003: 67-68).

## Definition of the Problem

**Hispanics*** represent the largest and fastest growing minority in the United States (Criado, 2004; Vélez-Ibáñez, 2004). Most of them, about 26 million, are people of **Mexican origin** [1] who comprise 9.1% of the total population (U.S. Census, 2006a/2007). Researchers have documented extensively that **Mexican-American*** students are not succeeding in the same proportion as the rest of the population (Alva and Padilla, 1995; Álvarez-McHatton, 2006; Baker, 1996; Gonzáles *et al.* 2004; Kao and Thompson 2003; McGlynn, 1999; Rumberger and Rodríguez, 2002; Stern, 1996; Tienda and Mitchell, 2006; Valencia, 1991/2002; Warren, 1996). Some researchers have found that cultural differences can become great challenges for students of Mexican origin and are obstacles in their way to educational achievement (Blanton, 2003; Cabrera and Padilla, 2004; Darder, 1991; Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Espinoza-Herold, 2003). Other studies have discovered a relationship between life stressors and educational achievement (Attar *et al.*, 1994; Trueba, 1983/1989). Similarly, researchers have found so many obstacles in the life environments of students of Mexican origin that many of them are ultimately pushed to failure. Such findings include:

- absence of suitable educational strategies in either English or Spanish (Cummings, 1981; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; García, 1999; Stein, 1990);
- acculturative stress (Dotson-Blake, 2006; Hovey, 2000);
- barriers due to immigrant status (Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba, 1991; Dotson-Blake, 2006; Lichter *et al.*, 2005; López and Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Romo and Falbo 1997);
- conflicting values between home and school (Dotson-Blake, 2006);
- exclusion of the Mexican-American culture from the curriculum (Valencia, 1991/2002);
- financial difficulties (Battle, 2006);

---

*Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

[1] People of Mexican origin self-define, and are categorized by others, with different labels including: Chicano/a, Hispanic, Latino/a, Mexican, and Mexican-American. Please see Appendix A.

- institutionalized and overt **racism*** and discrimination in school (Bell, 2003; Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Kao and Thompson, 2003; Stone and Han, 2005);
- intimidation and alienation due to ethnic differences (Battle, 2006);
- parental alienation (Romo and Falbo 1997; Valencia, 1991/2002);
- teachers who have not themselves been prepared to support students of Mexican origin (Baker, 1996; Battle and Cuellar, 2006; Valencia, 2002);
- tensions between Blacks and **Latinos*** in schools (Espinoza-Herold, 2003);
- undermining environments (Fendrich, 1983; Kao and Thompson, 2003; Romo and Falbo 1997; Valencia, 1991/2002); and
- unsupportive teaching climates (González *et al.*, 2004; Stone and Han, 2005).

Thus, the schooling process fails many students of Mexican origin through inappropriate curriculum, low expectations, racist ideologies, and other barriers (Espinoza-Herold, 2003; Valencia, 1991/2002). Subsequently, they have higher school dropout rates, rates of depression, and juvenile arrest rates (González *et al.*, 2004), and lower rates of college enrollment compared to other U.S. ethnic groups (Bohon, *et al.*, 2005). Despite this, many of these students graduate from high school and enter higher education. Hispanics are more likely than other students to enroll in community colleges (Lowell and Suro, 2002; Schmidt, 2003). In fact, community colleges enroll the majority (55%) of Hispanic students who decide to pursue higher education. The majority of them indicate they are Mexican, Mexican American, or **Chicano*** decent (AACC, 2004). Some of those who graduate from community colleges go further and obtain baccalaureate degrees. However, at four-year universities their challenges continue, since they experience greater difficulty and usually take longer to complete a degree than the non-Hispanic population. Hispanics in general (35%) are more likely than African Americans (32%) or Whites (25%) to take more than six years to earn a bachelor's degree (ERIC, 2001; Ream, 2005).

Of all people of Mexican origin in the U.S., a very large proportion (41.1%) is made of first-generation immigrants (U.S. Census, 2002/2007). In general, first-generation immigrants tend to have lower incomes and less education than their children and grandchildren born in the U.S. (Ewing and Johnson, 2003). At the same time, despite the great numbers of Mexican immigrant students now attending U.S. schools, "their unique needs are only dimly recognized by federal and state policymakers" (McDonnell and Hill,

---

*Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

1993). Undocumented immigrants face even harsher educational challenges. Nevertheless, in spite of many obstacles, some perseverant undocumented students are able to graduate successfully. Among the twelve million undocumented immigrants in the country, each year an estimated 65,000 graduate from public high schools and 13,000 are enrolled in college (Passel, 2003). The total number of undocumented high school graduates in the U.S. is estimated at 360,000 (Associated, 2007a). For most of them, attending a higher education institution is an impossible dream (Bagnato, 2005). Because they are unable to work legally, or qualify for government school loans and grants, their most accessible educational choice is the community college.

Outside of the wider category of "Hispanic," people of Mexican origin remain the fastest growing minority in the country and account for the largest and fastest growing number of undocumented immigrants (Huntington, 2004a). Undocumented Mexican residents make about 57%, or 5.9 million, of all "unauthorized" residents in the U.S. (Passel, 2005). They pay taxes and contribute to the economic development of their communities (American Graduate School, 2003), but have only limited access to public and educational services. People of Mexican origin, both documented and undocumented, are indispensable in some sectors of the U.S. economy; they serve in the Armed Forces, and their participation in the marketplace is very significant.[2] However, they also are the poorest minority (Lichter, 2005); they have poor political representation (Bacon, 2004a; Espinoza-Herold, 2003); and, according to the U.S. National Research Council, they have "an uncertain future" (Tienda and Mitchell, 2006).

For the purposes of this study, it is important to comprehend the evolution and challenges of people of Mexican origin in the U.S. as a colonized community. According to Valenzuela (1999), colonization is a form of racism that is projected against a conquered people (the colonized) by a conquering group (the colonizers). The conquered group is dominated and controlled through various means, including violence and more subtle attacks on the subordinated group's culture, language, religion, and history. From this perspective, undocumented Mexican immigrants are the most vulnerable and subjugated among the colonized community of Mexican origin (Bustamante, 1976; Chávez, 2005; De Genova, 2004). In this vein, researchers have criticized *anti-Mexican racism* (De Genova, 2005; Mariscal, 2005; Pulido, 2007; Rojas, 2001) and U.S. nativism,

---

[2] Please see section on Demographics, Economics, and Immediate History for statistical figures.

*Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

"distinguished by a pronounced *anti-immigrant racism* that [is] disproportionately directed against Mexicans... due to the hegemonic conflation of 'Mexicans' with 'illegal aliens'" (De Genova, 2005: 206. See also Ledesma, 2002).

**Internal colonialism*** in the United States is widespread with or without the intention of individuals (Martínez, 1999). Historically, governments have created, legitimized, and maintained subordination of the colonized classes (Fendrich, 1983), while "popular [dominant] culture" and the media reinforce racial stereotypes and exclusion (Bendersky, 1995; Harrison, 1994). Internal colonialism contradicts the notion of an integrated and democratic society where, some researchers argue, political and economic inequalities are not temporary, but necessary for the industrial, capitalist system (Konradi and Schmidt, 2004). The dominant society does not see such contradiction, which perpetuates "the myth of American equality and democracy..." (*Ibid.*: 630). In this context, racism is a central component of colonialism that refers to

> practices which restrict the chances of success of individuals from a particular racial or ethnic group, and which are based on, or legitimized by, some form of belief that this racial or ethnic group is inherently morally, culturally, or intellectually inferior (Peter Foster quoted by Gillborn, 1995: 57 and 1998: 43).

As pointed out by Gillborn (1995/1998), this traditional concept of racism involves an element of discriminatory action and a superiority-inferiority notion, but excludes unintentional or institutionalized racism. Through institutionalized racism, people and organizations carry out biased practices that are not intended to be racist, but are discriminatory in their effects (Gillborn, 1998). Thus, as a mechanism of colonialism, racism can thrive without overtly racist individuals because it occurs "through social and cultural processes" (Pilkington, 2004: 15). Americans of Mexican origin and undocumented Mexican immigrants are the victims of institutionalized racism and colonialism when they must reject their culture, language, and identity in order to succeed. As a community, and in spite of their many individual success stories, people of Mexican origin are colonized because they continue to be underrepresented in social and government institutions, remain the poorest minority with the lowest educational achievement, and continue to have an "uncertain future." Furthermore, by being colonized they are "being removed from making [their] own history" (A. Memmi quoted in Córdova, 2005: 222).

# The Lens of Critical Race Theory and Counter-History

This research utilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a framework for analysis. CRT draws on critical theory, a theoretical approach established in the 1920s by the "Frankfurt School" of thought as "a project of human emancipation" (Tierney, 1993: 4). German social thinkers emphasized that all knowledge is historical and, therefore, biased and subjective. Their critical theory of society rejected any claim to objective knowledge and focused on uncovering the oppressive mechanisms of society. The purpose was to understand such mechanisms in order to develop the conditions that would allow the oppressed to free themselves (*Ibid.*). Parker and Stovall (2004) argue that,

> One of the main problems in critical theory is dealing with the centrality of racism in education and its strong philosophical roots and connections to the political economy" (170).

CRT, like critical theory, emphasizes the importance of perspective and historical context in analyzing phenomena, while claiming that race is not a marginal, but a central element in understanding individual experiences of societal structures (the law, schooling, work environment) and identity (Gillborn, 2006; Russel, 1992; Solórzano and Yosso, 2000/2001/2002). In this study, CRT serves as the conceptual and interpretive tool to examine the intersection of race and power relations, as well as historical racism, in the lived experiences of academically successful Mexican immigrants. CRT assumes that race differentiation exists in institutional policies, programs, and practices that interfere with Mexican-American students' rights and abilities to obtain the same educational opportunities available to the dominant society (Villalpando, 2004).

From this approach, "race" is not a biological, but a socio-historical concept that allows researchers to analyze the sources of ethnic and "racial" identity in society, the role of cultural differences, formal vs. substantive equality, and diverse forms of subordination (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Similarly, "Whiteness" is not a fact of nature; but a fact of white supremacy (De Genova, 1998). Hence, the U.S. hegemonic nation-state manufactures a "national identity and citizenship, inherently racialized as white" (*Ibid.*: 91). Therefore, assumptions of institutional racism, class, discrimination, castification, and colonization are underlying notions in this research. They are some of the societal mechanisms of power and privilege deeply embedded in the institutions of a capitalistic market economy (Fendrich, 1983).

CRT's premise is that racism is "normal," not aberrant, in U.S. society; therefore it is seen as natural (Ladson-Billings, 1998/1999), or not seen at all. Furthermore racial domination is "central to the making of the modern world" (Mills, 2003: 220). In other words, race inequalities and racism are integral components of society and its educational system (Gillborn, 2005). Thus, CRT scholars criticize U.S. liberalism and argue that, since schooling in the USA claims to prepare citizens, the interaction between citizenship and race should be investigated (Ladson-Billings, 1998).[4] The use of CRT acknowledges the multiple dimensions of academic achievement and underachievement of non-citizens. Especially, it emphasizes the need for a *transdisciplinary* perspective that places issues of racism, colonization, discrimination, **castification**,* and other forms of oppression in contemporary and historical contexts (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). As underscored by Villalpando (2003), examination of the social conditions of colonized minorities "must be framed within a context that includes their sociohistorical experiences" (634). Therefore, this research –like CRT– challenges ahistorical, decontextualized, and one-dimensional explanations of underachievement in people of Mexican origin in the United States.

From such critical perspective, this study explores the life-history narratives of academically successful immigrants of Mexican origin. Narratives of people who are largely excluded or marginalized inform us of dimensions that are difficult to understand through any other type of research. They give a voice to the victims of unjust structures who are not the subjects of official history and provide the opportunity for their voices to be incorporated into the official critiques of the system. Their stories are intrinsically political and deeply embedded in relations of power. They "challenge the fetishness about the certainty and objectivity of knowledge and the quest for universal truths" (Dhunpath, 2000: 544); legitimize the voices of racial minorities; and support the critical analysis of the dominant social order (Nebeker, 1998). Some scholars refer to such narratives as "counter-storytelling" and "counter-history" (Stoler, 1997; Goldberg, 2002; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; Villalpando, 2003).

Counter-history is an alternative understanding of the official version of history and the evolution of social systems. Unjust social systems are the consequences of historical

---

[4] For a comparative perspective on citizenship and nationality policies, competing models of citizenship, and a discussion of the concept of citizenship as membership, see Klusmeyer and Aleinikoff (Eds.) (2000).

developments influenced by politico-economic pressures (Pearl, 2002). Subtly, the structures and institutions that allow or disallow people to reach positions of power are created. "History establishes the basis for inclusion and exclusion in various societal institutions. Most powerfully, that historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion is increasingly infused throughout education" (*Ibid.*: 336). In fact, it has been argued that postsecondary institutions and academic structures are mechanisms that give privilege to some ideas and constituencies, and silence others (Tierney, 1993). For example, one of the oldest counter-historical precedents that has emerged from a U.S. university was written by Mexican folklorist Jovita González in her master's thesis submitted in 1929, where she offered a defiant vision of the history of Texas. Although it has served as a source material on the Texas-Mexican border region for more than seventy years, her work was not published until 2006 by Texas A&M University (González, 2006).

People of Mexican origin in the U.S. need to comprehend the far-reaching ramifications of their past in order to understand their educational underachievement and other adversities as the consequences of internal colonialism, oppression, and systematic exclusion (Pearl, 2002). Thus, in consonance with CRT tenets, this research advocates a Mexican perspective of history and contests the negative representations of Mexican culture and peoples of Mexican origin. CRT situates their narratives "in a broader perspective that includes economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 3). The counter-narratives, counter-memories, and counter-truths contained in this work represent a recovery of history, "a 'counter-rhetoric' against the dominant side of American history, which is centered on the advancement of some by the exploitation of many others" (García, 1995). Paraphrasing Ireland (2001), it is from here that the researcher and the counter-narratives revealed through his research "say no to the colonizer[s]" who seek to exclude them. Similarly, this research "stands in opposition to dominant discourses on immigration" (*Ibid.*: 78). Moreover, through a CRT perspective, it supports the tradition of Critical Theory that focuses on the objectives of challenging the status quo and building mechanisms that enhance empowerment and democracy (Tierney, 1993: 5).

Critical analyses of American democracy and race relations in the U.S. have important historical precedents. In 1835, a decade before the Mexican-American War, in his influential work Democracy in America, Tocqueville (2003) was amazed by the distinctiveness of U.S. racism, which was able

> ...to exterminate the Indian race... with singular felicity, tranquility, legality, philanthropically, without shedding blood, and without violating a single great principle of morality in the eyes of the world. It is impossible to destroy men with more respect for the laws of humanity (355).

A century later, and many decades after the Emancipation Proclamation, racism against blacks and other minorities was rampant throughout the country, from *de jure* segregation and exclusion to gross infringement of human rights and racially motivated lynchings (Markovitz, 2004). In 1965, the U.S. Commission on Mental Health concluded that "racism" was the number one mental health problem in the nation (Lee, 1983). Today we see the multiplication of hate groups; anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican, and xenophobic political rhetoric; a proliferation of racist radio talk shows; increasing hate against Muslims; and growing racial incidents on college campuses (Macedo and Gounari, 2006; SPL Center, 2007; Redden, 2006).[5] Furthermore, modern analyses by theorists who condemn racism against people of Mexican origin sadly evoke Tocquevillean assertions in a contemporary context (see for example Almaguer, 1974; Delgado, 2006; Haney-López, 2003).

The U.S. is still "a race-based nation" (Barndt, 2007: 18). This work's premise is that a counter-history of people of Mexican origin in the United States reveals that, from the moment they were incorporated into American society by conquest, they have coexisted with mainstream Americans in an environment of racial adversity. The dominant ideology, by dehistoricizing race and racism, "attempts to close down any space in which to question racism and the structures that produce and sustain it" (Macedo and Gounari, 2006: 3). Thus, it is essential that we understand racial adversity in a historical framework that allow us to see beyond the official memory to recognize the truths revealed by counter-history and counter-narratives. CRT connects the different contexts and dimensions that give rise to the voices of the colonized, the oppressed, and the marginalized by official history. A recovery and preservation of their history and their stories is one of the objectives of this thesis.

---

[5] The Southern Poverty Law Center, a civil rights organization committed to racial equality, monitors hate groups and tracks extremist activity throughout the U.S. In its Spring 2007 Intelligence Report, the SPL Center informed that the hate group count in 2006 reached the unprecedented number of 844 organizations —an increase of 40% since 2000. Hate groups have been "energized by the rancorous national debate on immigration" and have been "increasingly successful at penetrating mainstream political discourse." Additionally, there is a fast growth of right-wing anti-immigrant groups that "stop short of the open racial hatred espoused by hate groups." In only two years, some 250 new nativist xenophobic organizations of this kind have emerged (SPL Center, 2007).

As noted by Valenzuela (1999), Acuña (2003), and other researchers, Mexican culture and language have been historically and systematically minimized through the legal system, educational policies, and institutionalized practices in the United States. At the turn of the millennium, they face great challenges, while racial prejudices continue to spread under the disguises of a perceived immigration *threat*, the fluctuations of natural economic cycles, and the post-September Eleventh regime. As in other periods of U.S. history, racial chauvinism and anti-immigrant sentiments threaten their chances for educational achievement and economic development. This time, however, considering current socio-economic and demographic trends (please see next chapter for specific data), this situation has a great potential to affect the economic wellbeing of mainstream Americans and the future of the country (Lee, 1983; Massey *et al.*, 2002). Thus, educational change and "an egalitarian dialogue that embraces the voices marginalized by dominant discourses" (Eckstein, 2006: 113) are now imperative.

The counter-history of people of Mexican origin demonstrates a high regard for education. Their social struggles against colonization have repeatedly revealed their educational aspirations (Samora and Vandel-Simon, 1993). Therefore, an egalitarian dialogue that acknowledges their voices also must recognize their adversities and respond to their educational aspirations.

## Colonization and Adversity in Mexican-American Education

What are the educational adversities that people of Mexican origin have faced as a colonized population in the United States? Perhaps the best historical example of how the dominant system has colonized Mexican-Americans in the process of **racialization*** has been the restriction of their language. The prohibition of language made it easier to socially and politically marginalize them. It also had the effect of disparaging them and making them submissive (González, N., 2001; Moreno, 1999). Delgado-Bernal (1999) argues that this strategy allowed the dominant society to establish a colonizer-colonized relationship, while a large amount of their Mexicanness was taken away and they began to view themselves in a negative sense. Without realizing it, people of Mexican origin began to be assimilated into the dominant society (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, N. González (2001), who has interviewed Mexican-origin women and children in Tucson, Arizona,

places language in the context of social processes, **hegemony**,* and power. She asserts that, since childhood, Mexican-Americans develop an "emotion of minority status." Such emotion is caused by a message of "foreignness" or "otherness" that is effectively transmitted through legislation –like English Only laws–, the media, and multiple societal and institutional elements (*Ibid.*). Thus, although achieving citizenship has afforded some privileges to many immigrants, like the right to vote and free education, it also has brought great disadvantages, like having to deny their native tongue, struggling to learn a new language, and being subject to many forms of discrimination (Nieto, 1996; Raymond and Sesnowitz, 1983; Suárez-Orozco and Páez, 2002) –sometimes disguised in the process of "Americanization."

Americanization policies were strongly implemented at the beginning of the twentieth century (Aman, 2005). In the specific case of Arizona, Lucero (2002) argues that it was clear that educational policies established in the 1930s and 1940s were to make Mexican children ready for "Mexican" occupations. This approach was based on the notion that Mexicans were culturally inferior and could not be acceptable American citizens without their culture and language being eradicated. In general, throughout the Southwestern United States, Mexicans did not assimilate particularly well (*Ibid.*). Today, they continue to live differently than other immigrant groups, with low family incomes, low educational attainment, and great numbers of them outside of the mainstream society (Stein, 1990). One reason they are different involves a cultural conflict between the values that they bring with them and the values shared by the dominant society in the United States. Schools are a natural battleground where these divergent values collide (Dotson-Blake, 2006) and, generally, where the dogmas of the dominant society are imposed (Córdova, 2005).

Schools have played a significant role in the inculcation of dominant values, keeping Mexican students subordinated via the cultural relationships and belief systems indoctrinated through the curriculum (Valenzuela, 1999). Schools are a powerful instrument of indoctrination and, through this medium, Mexican culture and language have been systematically minimized through laws, educational policies, and practices (*Ibid.*). Córdova (2005) further argues that educational colonization engenders alienation, detachment from history and community, and even self-hatred. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that scholars offer divergent critiques of the colonizer-colonized

---

*Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

analysis. For example, while Roberts (2000) recognizes the present era of neo-colonialism, he suggests that getting rid of the European legacy is not decisive. In contrast, Bowers (1983) sees even Freire's pedagogy of liberation as another form of cultural invasion.

After the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties and seventies, much legislation has occurred in defense of minority students. Affirmative Action, for example, is a movement that provides opportunities to individuals who have historically been denied opportunities because of discrimination by race, sex, disability, or national origin. Its policies have had a great impact in the educational arena and it has been a hotly debated issue in many colleges and universities (Skrentny, 1996). Supporters of Affirmative Action cite as justification the historical instances when Americans of Mexican origin and Hispanics in general have been exposed to unequal, unfair, and separate educational resources (Rendón, 1996; Suárez-Orozco and Páez, 2002). Conversely, opponents believe Affirmative Action quotas are morally wrong and a socially destructive form of "reverse racism" (O'Sullivan, 1995). In any case, it appears that a racial component has consistently been an underlying ingredient in the struggle of resistance against colonization (Barndt, 2007; San Miguel and Valencia, 1998). A brief historical account of some of the adversities of Mexican-American education after World War II clearly illustrates this:

The most important organizing efforts of Mexican-Americans since World War II have emphasized education (Samora and Vandel-Simon, 1993). From a Critical Race Theory approach, Valencia (2005) argues that most people in the United States are unaware of the essential role that Mexican-Americans have played in some of the most important struggles regarding school desegregation. He analyzes the case of Mendez vs. Westminster (1946), a lawsuit filed on behalf of more than 5,000 Mexican-American students in Orange County, California that became the first successful constitutional challenge to segregation (*Ibid.*). The U.S. District Court ruled that Mexican-American students' rights were being violated under the equal protection granted by the Fourteenth Amendment. A number of legal scholars at the time saw this as a case that could have accomplished what *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* finally did in the 1950s: a reversal of 60 years of legal segregation. Valencia (2005) discusses how *Mendez* and *Brown* were strongly connected and how *Mendez* served as a foundation for *Brown*.

In the fifties and sixties, Mexicans actually witnessed legislation against segregation in schools, but judicial decisions also ignored desegregation (Melcher, 1999). Actual implementation of new laws was slow and sometimes careless, while *de facto* segregation of students of Mexican origin continued (Hernandez, 1995; Melcher, 1999). School officials in general continued to justify school segregation and its concomitant colonizer-colonized relationship. Even after segregation was found to be illegal by the courts, segregation continued (Melcher, 1999). Conflict between ideologies, confusion in the legislature, and delays in fulfilling the spirit of the law allowed the continuity of old vices and attitudes. There was a faction of the dominant society who still believed that Mexicans were culturally inferior. Mexicans were (again) proclaimed to be abnormal, ignorant, backward, unclean, and unambitious people (Delgado-Bernal, 1999; Haney-López, 2003; Rendón, 1996; Weinberg, 1977).

School officials took little interest in solving these problems until the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), an organization founded by Mexican-Americans, became involved in the fight to end segregation (Hernandez, 1995). From different fronts, Chicano and Mexican-American activism played a crucial role in the attempts to end school segregation and racism. Groups like the Mexican-American Student Association (MASA), the United Mexican-American Students (UMAS), and the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) had the common goal of obtaining access to fair and quality education for all (Delgado-Bernal, 1998). Thus, by the end of the 1960s, students of Mexican origin had become more politicized and reacted to educational injustices. They demanded educational change through the use of walkouts or "blowouts" (Chávez, 2002; Meier and Gutierrez, 2000). The changes they wanted included the right to have Mexican-American educators and administrators, bilingual programs, smaller class sizes, multicultural education for all students and educators, and other legitimate demands (Chávez, 2002; Meier and Gutierrez, 2000; Rendón, 1996; Weinberg, 1977). Most protests occurred in Los Angeles, but many other cities were involved, including Chicago and New York (*Ibid.*).

In 1968, before the protests, the government had begun to fund bilingual education through Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. However, it appears that this endeavor turned out to be more a compensatory education than a way to solve inequality. Some educators maintain that this legislation was indeed a modest effort toward equality, but believe that such legislation helped those in power more than

the people it was supposed to help (Matsuda *et al.*, 1993). Consequently, students themselves began to be directly involved in the sociopolitical movement for justice and organized and participated in protests. They were part of a larger ferment throughout the country that conjugated powerful forces like the Black Civil Rights struggle, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the Feminist Movement, the promises of the War on Poverty, and revolutionary struggles in other parts of the world (Delgado-Bernal, 1999; García, 1999). For the first time in the U.S., multitudinous young, forceful, and vociferous Americans of Mexican origin demanded change in the educational and sociopolitical arenas.

During the 1968 school blowouts in East Los Angeles, organizations like MASA and UMAS played a central role (Delgado-Bernal 1998). Nevertheless, it is also important to highlight the leadership assumed by Chicana women in the struggle. Delgado-Bernal (*Ibid.*) interviewed eight key female leaders in a unique oral history project where she argues that, before this counter-narrative project, their story had only been told by males with a focus on males. As a self-defined Chicana, Delgado-Bernal recovers "the women's voices that have been omitted from the diverse historical accounts of the Blowouts–particularly those women who were key participants" (114). Despite the many boycotts, protests, and demonstrations by thousands of students, which occurred throughout the U.S. in this period, bureaucracy prevailed and educational injustices and racism were addressed very slowly, if at all (Chávez, 2002; Rendón, 1996).

During the early seventies, tensions continued regarding desegregation and bilingual education. There was a major funding cut in bilingual education, and school finances were drastically reduced for Mexican-American students (Delgado-Bernal, 1999). However, successful lawsuits during the same period, such as *Lau vs. Nichols* (1974) and *Serna vs. Portales Municipal Schools* (1974), have later served to assist students whose first language is not the primary language in the United States (Delgado-Bernal, 1999). Many Mexican-Americans began to question the high dropout rate and low achievement of their youth. Lau vs. Nichols became a landmark case establishing that failure to provide non-English-speaking Chinese students a comprehensible education denied them equal educational opportunities. This case triggered a renewed interest in ESL and bilingual education programs that benefited people of Mexican origin and other minorities. It was an important lesson for Mexican-Americans (Donato, 1997).

Donato (1997) uses the case of Brownfield School District in northern California to illustrate the struggle of Mexican-Americans during the Civil Rights movement. Most scholars have focused on the African American struggle for equal education during this period. He argues that despite the claim that Mexican children were educated by a neutral system, public schools demonstrated widespread ethnic, linguistic and class prejudices (*Ibid.*). Donato (1997) blames the marginalization of Mexican Americans from the political arena for the failure of Mexican-Americans in Brownfield and elsewhere. However, he notes that, in the late 1970s, Mexican-Americans learned that legislative support was essential to win their struggle for equality and to transform the educational system (*Ibid.*).

In the eighties, the conservative policies of the Reagan era had a negative effect on Mexican-American schooling (Delgado-Bernal, 1999). There was a widespread drive to do away with social equity programs put into place by President Johnson's War on Poverty (Fendrich, 1983; Rendón, 1996). Conservatives began to increase military spending and reduce educational spending (Rendón, 1996), while other reforms created more inequality among minorities (Fendrich, 1983). Among such reforms, Samora and Vandel-Simon (1993) point at the strong trend towards reversing bilingual and bicultural programs and legislation in favor of English-only education. The inequality created by these policies has been corroborated in a more recent study by Zavodny (2000), where it was found that male workers with limited English proficiency who live in states with English-only laws experience an earnings loss relative to other men. Zavodny concludes that, even if these laws are not intended to be discriminatory, they can have a discriminatory effect on people who do not speak or read English fluently (*Ibid.*).

In the nineties, anti-Mexican and anti-immigrant sentiments were exacerbated in the Southwest and expanded to the rest of the country (Johnston, 2001; Michelson, 2001). In 1994, Proposition 187 passed in California denying undocumented workers public education and public health care. Both Mexican-American citizens and undocumented immigrants were harassed and became the target of hate groups inside and outside California. Michelson (*Ibid.*) hypothesizes that Mexican-Americans became more concerned about racism and discrimination and acted accordingly. Mexican and Mexican-Americans organized some of the largest demonstrations to occur since the Vietnam era and high school students in Los Angeles, once again, walked out of their classes in protest (Gutiérrez, 1999). They and their families had suddenly become

"guilty" of all the economic troubles of the state. Later, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the proposition illegal.

After the turmoil created by Proposition 187, some states –and notoriously Arizona–, have enacted legislation to deny bilingual instruction, higher education, and public services to undocumented immigrants. A new wave of XXI century racism, xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment appear to be reemerging across the nation (Redden, 2006; SPL Center, 2007). Anti-immigrant racism has infamously attacked Mexicans who, irrespective of their history in the country –or perhaps because of it–, are seen as outsiders (De Genova, 2005). In 2006, new protests where hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants and their sympathizers flooded the streets of major cities throughout the U.S. have been seen as a "new civil rights movement" (Robinson, 2006). The children of undocumented immigrants and undocumented students left their classrooms to demand regularization of their immigrant status (Fine et al., 2007).

Optimists point out that the conditions of Mexican-Americans have gradually improved during the past five decades thanks to the Civil Rights Movement, (Grogger and Trejo, 2002; Lewis, 1988). Under the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, school districts have to assign resources for the training of teachers and development of instructional materials to help students who do not speak English; overtly racist administrators, teachers, and policies have been removed in many institutions; and diverse cultures are now included in school curricula (Salas, 2003). Thus, D'Souza (1996) criticizes the "neurotic obsession" with race that continues to divide U.S. society, while Sowell (1984/2004) argues against affirmative action and the "civil rights establishment." However, these arguments are uttered when a "right-wing hostile take-over of education" is trying to overcome deficits with "standards" (Pearl, 2002) and has intensified efforts to lessen the hard-won gains of the Civil Rights Movement (Ferrer, 2001). Other researchers contend that multicultural education, bilingual education, and affirmative action have been under attack by the U.S. neo-conservative movement since the Reagan era (Delgado-Bernal, 1999; Lee, 1983; Rhoads *et al.*, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). As this debate takes place, the roots of racism are still profoundly "embedded and intertwined in the life and history ... of our nation" (Barndt, 2007: 13).

## Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to acknowledge the *counter stories* and learn from the *counter life histories* of academically successful immigrants of Mexican origin as they have navigated across and between historical, socio-economic, political and cultural boundaries, barriers and contexts. Their educational achievement is defined by their attainment of a higher education degree in Arizona, in spite of great adversities caused by their immigrant and racialized statuses. The research pays special attention to those who have lived in the United States as undocumented residents and focuses specifically on immigrants who have used a community college in Arizona as an entry into higher education. The life history narratives of six Mexican immigrants who have been able to enroll in and graduate from the community college are revealed in this study. The participants encountered socio-cultural, linguistic, and economic challenges, but they found a way to pay for college and succeed in their academic goals. Four participants are undocumented immigrants. The other two have been granted permanent residency status and citizenship under U.S. immigration laws. However, all of them have been "unauthorized," undocumented residents at different points of their lives in the United States.

The in-depth interview has been chosen as the method utilized in this study to elicit the participants' life history narratives. This method of qualitative research allows the researcher to explore an individual's micro-historical (personal) experiences within a macro-historical (history of the time) context (Hagemaster, 1992). Life-history information also can challenge the researcher and the participant to understand the individual's attitudes, behaviors, conditions, etc. as a result of circumstances and relations of power from a different historical context (*Ibid.*). The participants' narratives will help us understand the unique experiences and vicissitudes in their struggle for educational achievement. In the CRT tradition, these stories "counter" dominant narratives and can be utilized as "pedagogical tools to challenge racism, sexism, and classism and work toward social justice" (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). According to CRT principles, such pedagogical tools can help us create the conditions for a more successful and egalitarian educational environment for Mexican immigrants and people of Mexican origin in general. Through the lens of counter-history and counter-narrative, this research seeks to be part of a larger effort "to identify, analyze, and transform those

structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial positions in and out of the classroom" (*Idem.*: 25).

As explained above, CRT is critical of attempts to understand social phenomena by utilizing ahistorical, decontextualized perspectives (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). From such a critical position, knowledge is understood as a consequence of power, and thus is historically and socially determined (Tierney, 1993). Therefore, before the review of the literature on the determinants of failure and achievement in students of Mexican origin, the following chapter provides a perspective on the counter-historical background and contexts surrounding the lives and challenges of the participants. The section briefly incorporates dimensions from other disciplines in order to place the experiences of Mexican immigrants and their testimonies in a "transdisciplinary perspective" (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002).

These *counter* dimensions and testimonies are particularly important in the context of what has been referred to as "the rise of the immediate history" (Le Goff *et al.*, 2004). From that approach, testimony tends to *reenter*[6] the historical arena and the development of the media is producing "the return of the event" (186). The media, however, predominantly propagates what Takaki (2007a) has called the "master narrative of American history;" namely the dominant version of history, also found in the curriculum, in scholarship, language, and policies of political leaders. Le Goff *et al.* (2004) acknowledge the existence of "multiple kinds of time" experienced by individuals in the dimensions where they build collective memory (linguistic, demographic, economic, biological, cultural):

> ...the whole evolution of the contemporary world, under the impact of an *immediate history* for the most part fabricated on the spot by the media, is headed toward the production of an increased number of collective memories, and history is written, much more than in earlier days, under the influence of these collective memories (*Ibid.*: 95).

The following chapter takes a look at the "immediate history" surrounding the lives of Mexican immigrants in the United States, including their contemporary political, demographic, and socioeconomic circumstances. Inexorably inserted in such contexts, their counter-history and counter-narratives represent collective memories and shared

---

[6] As these authors point out, classical historians of Greco-Roman antiquity (Herodotus, Polybius, Thucydides, Xenophon) in fact wrote about contemporary events.

experiences as genuine and real as the history and the stories that constitute the dominant memory. Thus, the first part of the chapter rescues a Mexican version of history and immigration that contradicts the dominant memory and "the master narrative of American history." It implies that official history and

> ...the data of the historian are not facts. That is, the historian always begins with a system of postulates. History, like every other form of human thought, ends and does not begin with facts. That is, the historian always begins with a series of postulates and with a specific view of the course of events, a view consonant with his postulates (Kennedy, 2002: 87).

Secondly, demographic and economic data are presented as complementary facts that enrich the literature review and the participants' stories. Demographics, the statistical data or profile of a specific population, continuously change due to fertility, mortality and immigration rates, but also due to socioeconomic circumstances (Warf, 2006). In turn, these factors transform societies and populations and have an impact on their material, spiritual, and cultural circumstances. Furthermore, as pointed out by Bhattacharyya *et al.* (2002), an economic system "shapes our lives and our life chances, whoever and wherever we are" (36). Consequently, the oral histories contained in this research are in great part the products of such circumstances. Through them, the connections between immediate and remote histories are illumined.

# COUNTER-HISTORY AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY IN A TRANSDISCIPLINARY CONTEXT

> The external mechanisms influencing social memory are rooted in the forces regulating societies. "Each society has its regime of truth" and "types of discourses it accepts and makes function as true." So-called truth is bound to specific institutions, constantly exposed to political and economic incitements; 'truth' is the object of various forms of distribution and consumption, largely controlled by a few political and economic apparatuses (Michael Foucault's Truth and Power, quoted by Eckstein, 2006: 22). ...The democratization of cultural memory, the politics of memory, is an egalitarian dialogue that embraces the voices marginalized by dominant discourses (*Ibid.*: 113).

## A Counter-History of Mexican Immigration: "My great grandparents didn't cross the border; the border crossed them."[7]

Dominant/hegemonic stories are narratives of events (immediate and remote) as told and promulgated by members of dominant/colonizing groups. The dominant stories are interlaced with the values and beliefs that justify and legitimize the actions taken by the colonizers to perpetuate their hegemony. "The commonly accepted history of the United States is one such story" (Love, 2004: 228-229). The following is a brief counter-history of peoples of Mexican origin in the United States:

Mexicans became the first official "Hispanic"[8] population in the United States. They were incorporated into their new country by military conquest (Acuña, 2003), after the US "deliberately provoked" the Mexican-American War of 1847-1848 (Steinberg, 1981: 22). Abraham Lincoln, then a congressman, vehemently opposed the war and invasion of Mexico, which he denounced as illegal (Damrosch, 2005; Monroe, 2000).[9] In his *Memoirs*, President Ulysses S. Grant recalled with shame being one of the generals who

---

[7] Statement by Felix Gutiérrez, a fourth generation Californian, quoted by J. Quiroga (1997: 38). In Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality, Alcoff and Mendieta (2003) also clarify that "a large share of the Mexican-Americans are here not because they crossed the border, but 'because the border crossed them'" (99).

[8] U.S. agencies define *Hispanic* or Latino as "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (Martin and Gerber, 2005: 2). Please see Appendix A for a more complete explanation.

[9] So fervent was Lincoln's opposition to this war that his inaugural speech in the House of Representatives in 1847 was a condemnation of the Mexican-American War (Damrosch, 2005). Nicholas P. Trist, the U.S. envoy who negotiated the peace treaty with Mexico, also expressed feelings of shame and referred to "the iniquity of the war" and the "abuse of power" on the part of the United States (Meyer and Beezley, 2000: 368-369).

fought in the conflict, calling it "the most unjust war ever waged by a stronger against a weaker power" (Grant, 1995: 16. See also Christensen, 1998: 5; Meed, 2002: 64). As a result of this asymmetrical confrontation, Mexico was forced to recognize the U.S. annexation of Texas and to "sell" for 15 million U.S. dollars what we know today as the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah, as well as parts of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Wyoming (Francaviglia and Richmond, 2000). Including Texas, Mexico lost 55% of its territory in what Thomas Sheridan (1995) has called: "the most monumental land grab in North American History" (50). Such "land grab" (see map on page 21) was larger in extension than present day Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom combined (1,996,752 sq km). This event alone consolidated the U.S. continental dominance (Meyer and Beezley, 2000) and became the catalyst for the United States' development into a new world power (Meed, 2002). At the same time, as Meyer and Beezley (2000) indicate, "Mexico's destiny was linked to its northern neighbor" (369). At that point in history the powerful U.S. could not imagine to what extent its future development would be linked to much weaker Mexico.[10]

Before the Mexican-American War, Mexico had lost part of present-day Texas after the **Anglo-American*** invasion that ended with the state's Declaration of Independence in 1836 (Hernández, 2001). Previous to the war, the U.S. took military possession of Texas and an enormous "disputed territory" (see Map 1) "apparently in order to force Mexico to initiate war" (Grant, 1995: 17). Immediately after the war, Texas and the disputed territory were incorporated into the Union with the rest of the lands taken from Mexico. At the time, slavery and differential treatment based on race were official institutions in the United States. Subsequently, Texas became part of the Confederate South that practiced slavery. Many Mexicans chose to return to Mexico, while those who stayed

---

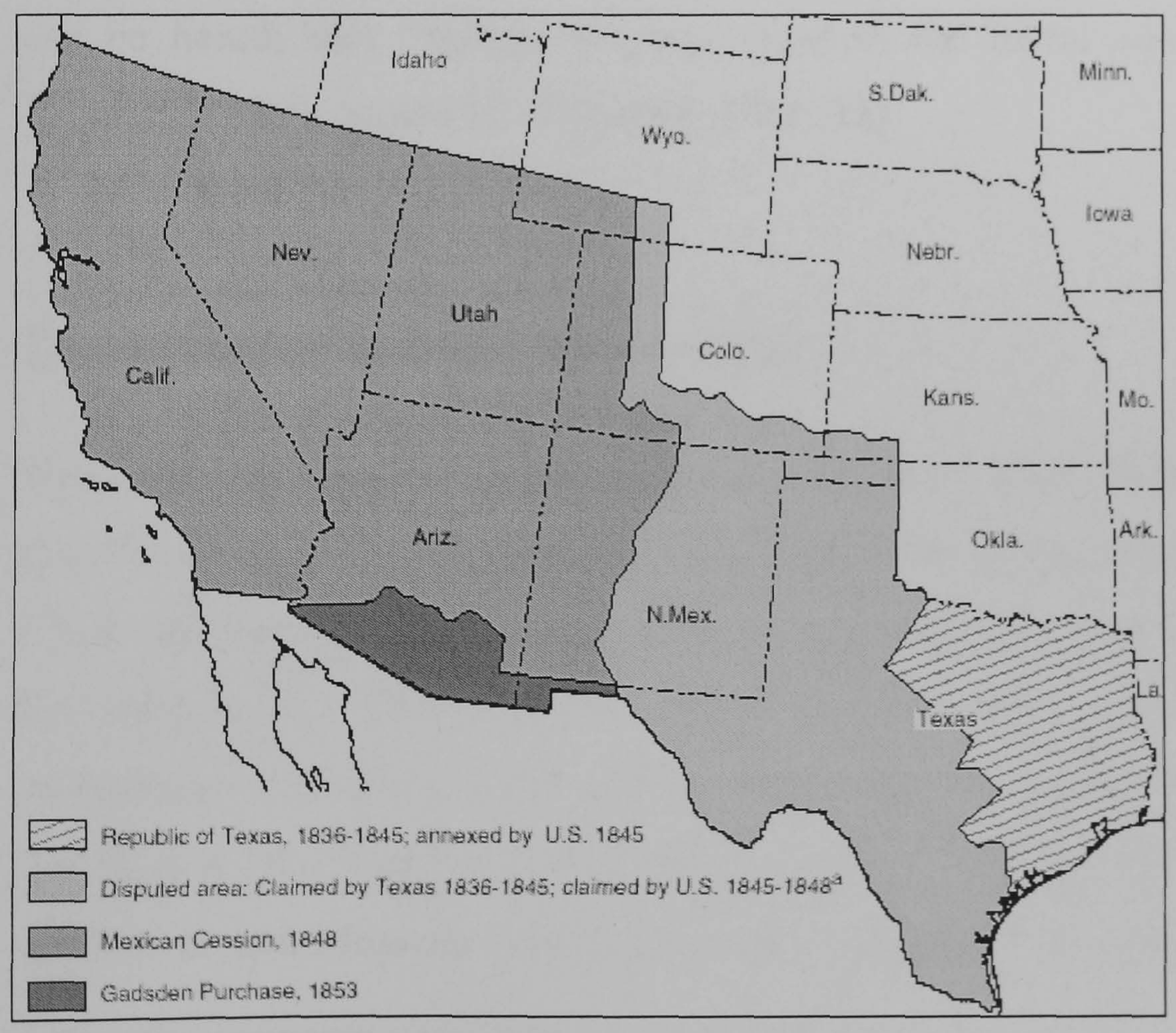
[10] Mexico is currently the third largest trading partner for the U.S. (Financial Times, 2006). U.S. exports to Mexico are greater than U.S. exports to all Latin American countries combined (Arizona Department of Commerce, 2004). In 1995, the mighty U.S. financial system received a frightful lesson on how its destiny could be linked to the much weaker Mexican economy. At the time, the so-called "Tequila Effect," caused by Mexico's currency crisis, provoked a domino effect throughout the world's emerging markets and threatened to destabilize the U.S. and the entire world economy (Washington Post, 1996). On a different dimension, Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants are determinant factors in the "Hispanicization" of important regions throughout the United States (see also footnote 11). The U.S. now has a Hispanic population that surpasses the entire Canadian population (CIA, 2006); it has the forth largest Spanish speaking population among more than 20 Spanish-speaking countries in the world (Ibid.); and, as a market, Hispanics in the U.S. represent an equivalent of the 10th largest economy in the world, with a purchasing power that surpasses the economies of Brazil or Spain (Wilmot, 2006).

*Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

were made into U.S. citizens overnight in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between Mexico and the United States (Hernández, 2001). The new Americans of Mexican origin relied on the Treaty to protect their civil rights, including their language, but they had clashes with the Anglo-Americans and were treated as second-class citizens (Hernández, 2001; San Miguel and Valencia, 1998). Many of them lost their lands, had their rights violated, and were not properly represented in politics (Acuña, 2003; Hernández, 2001). Nevertheless, the enormous territorial expansion afforded by the lands taken from Mexico put the issue of race and slavery at the forefront of the American political debate. Should the Mexicans be slave or free? According to Monroe (2000), this debate accelerated the political crisis that eventually led to the Civil War. In his Personal Memoirs, President Grant (1995) considered the American Civil War God's castigation to the United States for the injustices it had committed against Mexico. He specifically asserted that:

> The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican war. Nations, like individuals, are punished for their transgressions. We got our punishment in the most sanguinary and expensive war of modern times (*Ibid.*: 17).

**Map 1: The origin of the Southwestern United States**




In 1837, even though it was still part of Mexico, Texas was recognized as an independent state by the U.S. In 1845, the U.S. annexed Texas in what Mexico considered an act of aggression and responded by breaking diplomatic relations with its northern neighbor. The light gray area in the map was not recognized by Mexico as part of Texas, but the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo forced Mexico to accept the annexation of the whole territory by the U.S. Later, individual military aggressions and pressures from the U.S. forced the so-called Gadsen Purchase of 1853 that gave the U.S. added lands along the border with Arizona and New Mexico (Meyer and Beezley, 2000).

Source: Historical Documents at www.historicaldocuments.com

Over a century and a half later, for many Americans of Mexican origin, the perception is that their ancestors did not emigrate from a distant country to a new promising land, as the

Pilgrims did, but that a new, dominant country came to them and transformed them into second-class citizens. In the words of an American of Mexican origin: "My great grandparents didn't cross the border; the border crossed them" (*Op cit*).[11] Mexicans have suffered ferocious attacks throughout their history as a colonized community in the United States, most notably during times of economic decline (Acuña, 2003; Massey *et al.*, 2002). After the Mexican-American War, which Rojas (2001) has referred to as an "Anglo-led race war against the people of Mexico" (17), internal colonialism came close to genocide (Carrigan and Web, 2003; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996). Mexicans were robbed of their lands, cheated in commercial transactions, professionally diminished, utilized as commodities, and considered inferior in regard to language, customs, and religiosity (Acuña, 2003; Haney-Lopez, 2003; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996). They were "subjected to multiple clearly racialized forms of displacement, disenfranchisement, exploitation, and oppression" (De Genova, 2005: 102). Wong (2006) notes that the granting of U.S. citizenship to Mexicans, supposedly guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, was dependent on the Anglo-American perception of the "race" of a particular Mexican. Most of them were denied citizenship and "were not allowed to vote because of their race" (19). Dispossessed Mexicans only could respond with the widespread claim: "We were here before you came" (McKenna, 1988). Their supplications and appeals would not be heard; they "simply did not count in the moral calculus of expansionism" (Frederick Merk quoted by Steinberg, 1981: 22).

## Demographic history: who counts?

The 1850 population census revealed that more than 80,000 Mexican-Americans constituted about twenty percent of the population of the Southwestern United States. Most were natives of the former Mexican territories, and most lived in areas where they had been born. This was "the critical moment when Mexicans became Mexican Americans" (Nostrand, 1975: 378). Their greatest number was concentrated in the Territory of New Mexico (*Ibid.*). Nostrand (*Ibid.*), however, argues that their proportions relative to non-Mexican Americans were probably undernumerated. Mexicans were

---

[11] It is not a coincidence that the Hispanic populations in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada, Texas, and Utah reached 24,640,494 in 2005 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006a). At the same time, the total Hispanic population in the United States reached 41,926,302 (*Idem*). In other words, almost 60% (58.77) of all Hispanics in the U.S. live today in these formerly Mexican territories. New York and Florida also have large Hispanic populations with a total of 6,459,641 (*Idem*). For geopolitical and historical reasons, the largest proportions of Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. live in those two states.

counted by the census as a kind of second-class white citizen and Native American populations living in the former Mexican territories, who previously had held Mexican citizenship, were not counted as Mexican-Americans. Paradoxically, for the 1850 census, many White Mexicans were not counted as Mexican-Americans, but simply "Americans."[12] Nostrand also argues that "some census takers undoubtedly were ignorant of Spanish, and thus may have avoided Mexican Americans" (383). Many Mexican women and their siblings were excluded from the count if they had married a non-Mexican. In New Mexico Territory, Mexican-Americans could be excluded from the count if census takers noted "copper" under color or when their residence was a Native American town. In California, Mexican-Americans were not included in the Mexican American category if the census taker noted "Indian" under "color" (382). At the same time, the population of Mexican origin was being quickly overwhelmed by the massive numbers of immigrants from the East and from Europe after the discovery of gold in California (just before the end of the U.S.-Mexico War). In summary, the 1850 census was an extremely arbitrary castification system, with strong elements of internal colonialism, racism, and exclusion embedded in it.

During the second half of the 19th century, the new border between the two countries was unregulated and movement across it was mostly unrestricted (De Genova, 2004). By the end of the century, the Southwestern economy grew rapidly and Mexican labor was actively recruited in mining, railroads, ranching and agriculture. Mexicans were encouraged to cross the border and work without any official documentation (Acuña, 2003; De Genova, 2004). Their population had grown steadily, but invisibly. In 1910, after the Mexican Revolution spread throughout Mexico, a flood of refugees came to the United States, presenting the country with one of its earliest refugee crises. Rosales (1999) has documented the disproportionate abuses, civil rights violations, and violence against Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants by Anglo-Americans, police, and the judicial system during this era.

After 1917 and continuing through the 1920s, more restrictive immigration laws made *traditional* migration from Mexico more difficult, while free undocumented labor immigration was allowed (Bernard, 1998). A huge clandestine demand for Mexican labor

---

[12] When the Southwestern U.S. was still part of Mexico, Europeans, French-Canadians, and Anglo-Americans had settled there and become "Mexican," as they did in other parts of the country (Nostrand, 1975).

throughout the Southwest and elsewhere in the U.S. led to a vast human smuggling industry (Wilson, 2000). Later, as economic conditions declined during the depression of the 1930's, at least half a million people of Mexican origin, including many whose families had been living in the U.S. before the Anglo-Americans arrived, were deported to Mexico (De Genova, 2004). They were expelled with no regard to citizenship by birth in the U.S., but simply for being "Mexicans" (De Genova, 2004; Flores, 2003). Andrade (1998), who argues that as many as a million people were expelled, argues that this was the largest expulsion of people in the history of the United States, only comparable to the relocation of Native Americans from their own land in the 19th century.

One hundred years after the 1850 population census things had changed, although one could not see much difference in the census numbers. The 1950 census "revealed" that the U.S. was 89% white and 10% black (The Economist, 2000). People of Mexican origin were hardly noticed. In 1942, however, new labor shortages had pushed the United States government to reach an agreement with Mexico to encourage unemployed Mexicans to work in the United States under contract, as "temporary workers." The Labor Importation Program became to be known as the "*Bracero* Program," from the Spanish word *brazos* (arms). Most jobs were in the agricultural sector, where many *brazos* were needed as a result of the shortages created by World War II (De Genova, 2004). Although the program was supposed to end after the War, it continued for years afterward, as farmers repeatedly demanded extensions from Congress. By 1956, 25 percent of all agricultural workers in the country were people of Mexican origin, most were working extensive hours for below subsistence wages, living in poor conditions, and possibly suffering from exposure to dangerous pesticides (Rodríguez, R., 1997). The population of Mexican origin in the U.S. was inexorably growing due to the pull factors imposed by the capitalist expansion of the economy and the need for undocumented workers (Bach, 1978).

For a long time, although they were only economic statistics in most of the official documents that acknowledged their existence, migrant workers had been essential to the development of the agricultural economies of the Southwest (Joppke, 1999). In the middle of the Twentieth Century, as in other times in history, racist legislation tried to benefit form these immigrants and keep them away at the same time. In the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, the so-called Texas Proviso (because it was endorsed by a group of Texan agricultural interests) stated that employing "illegals" (Sic) did not

constitute the criminal act of "harboring." Therefore, it was legal to employ undocumented workers, while it was easy to deport them when not needed (*Ibid.*:30). The economy counted on them, but they only counted as "illegals." This type of institutionalized and *de jure* racism would perpetuate the human rights abuses and exploitability of migrant workers.

## Growing numbers, growing conscience, growing adversity

Between 1951 and 1965, at the peak of Mexican worker flows into the U.S., approximately 450,000 Mexican workers crossed the border contracted by the *Bracero* Program (Meier and Ribera, 1993). One of the terms of the Bracero Program stipulated that, "Mexicans entering the U.S. under provisions of the agreement would not be subjected to discriminatory acts" (Mize, 2006: 87). As is the case in other periods of Mexican American history, the majority of the literature about the *Bracero* Program assumes that it operated under the guidelines established by the official agreement (*ibid.*). Conversely, the counter-history of this era can be found in Chicano literature, like Rodolfo Acuña's classical *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, first published in 1972. Acuña (2003) exposes Chicano exploitation and oppression under a system of internal colonialism. More recently, Jacobo (2004) utilizes open ended life-history interviews, photos, and even family correspondence to document the economic push-pull pattern of Mexican immigration and economic oppression that precedes the *Bracero* Agreement and continues today.

In 1954, ignoring the Mexican government's appeal for a minimum wage for *braceros*, the U.S. Congress allowed the Department of Labor to unilaterally recruit Mexican workers, and the Border Patrol itself actively recruited undocumented migrants (Cockcroft, 1986). At the same time, between 1954 and 1958, the United States government deported over 3.8 million "wetbacks," or *mojados*,[13] to Mexico under the Operation Wetback Program. This program, itself labeled with an overtly racist name, harassed Mexicans who by then had built a life in the United States. Thus, irrespective of their status in the country, either "legally" or without documents, they felt constantly

[13] The term "wetback" alludes to the fact that many undocumented immigrants swim across the Rio Grande River in order to get to the United States. The words wetback and its equivalent in Spanish (*mojado*) are commonly used in a pejorative sense to refer to Mexicans in the United States.

intimidated and in fear of being deported. The simultaneous existence of the Bracero Program and Operation Wetback made immigrants more submissive and even afraid of utilizing public services like health care, public assistance, and public education (Barclay, 2005; De Genova, 2004; Michelson, 2001). They were expected to be a tamed and discardable workforce who could be used as scapegoats in times of economic decline (Bustamante, 1976).

By the 1960s, Americans of Mexican origin became more politicized. The word "Chicano," previously a pejorative term, suddenly became a political term that expressed militant ethnic nationalism (Chávez, 2002). Student organizations emphasizing cultural pride and self-determination emerged and, in 1968, fifteen thousand students in Los Angeles protested against substandard schools and biased teaching and counseling (*Ibid.*). Chávez (2002) explores the Chicano movement in Los Angeles combining personal anecdotes and interviews of participants in the movement with documents and newspapers from the time. López (2004) shows how racial prejudice against the protesters led to police brutality and judicial discrimination that in turn incited Chicano militancy. He argues that official violence persuaded Chicano activists that they were nonwhite, thereby encouraging their use of racial categories to redefine their culture and aspirations.

The Chicano movement and communities around the United States put pressure on colleges and universities because they were not providing students from different ethnic groups with equal educational opportunities. In response to these pressures, educational institutions began to establish black, Chicano, and other ethnic studies. According to Samora and Vandel-Simon (1993), ethnic studies were actually forced upon some colleges and universities by the pressure and active demonstrations of minority groups and their supporters. This pressure was short-lived. By the end of the 1970s, universities had diminished their initial commitment to equal opportunity. In order to minimize their failure to attract poor Chicano/Mexican-American students, universities selected from the socioeconomic elite of the Hispanic community, using Cubans, South Americans, and middle-class Mexican-Americans to fill their recruitment quotas. The target became Hispanics in general with less attention paid to underprivileged students of Mexican origin (*Ibid.*).

With the emergence of the post September Eleventh antiterrorist state, border enforcement and immigration policies have been transformed "under the aegis of a remarkably parochial U.S. nationalism and an unbridled nativism" (De Genova, 2004). In March, 2003, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was absorbed under the new Department of Homeland Security. Subsequently, Hing (2006) has criticized the misuse of immigration policies in the name of national security. Bacon (2004a) has documented the discrimination against immigrant workers after the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001. Romero (2006), a critical race theorist, notes the escalation of racial profiling that targets "Mexicanness," denoted by stereotypes of skin color and bilingualism. In 2004, however, the Bush administration proposed the temporary "regularization" of undocumented immigrants as part of a new Bracero-style labor system (Romero, 2006; Wall Street Journal, 2005). De Genova (2004) argues that such a plan aspires only to institute a scheme by which to perpetuate the availability of disposable, and still deportable, migrant labor.

The struggle that started with Mexican resistance after the U.S. dispossessed Mexico of half of its territory has reemerged as a growing aspiration for cultural recognition and equality. Today Mexican-Americans allegedly live in a more pluralistic society where words like multiculturalism, globalization, and human rights are common. Nevertheless, a disproportionate number of them live in poverty (Lichter, *et al.*, 2005; Orfield and Lee, 2005), still experience discrimination (Stone and Han, 2005), and have high levels of attrition and failure in school (Kao and Thompson 2003; McGlynn, 1999). People of Mexican origin, whether identified as Hispanics, Latinos, Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, or Chicanos coexist with the dominant American culture in an environment of racial adversity that perpetuates "white privilege" (Delgado, 2006).

It is also important to recognize that an increasing number of Americans of Mexican origin and Mexican immigrants are building a stronger civil society and a growing conscience against legal violence, repression, and racial discrimination (Haney López, 2001). This research aspires to serve as a modest inspirational instrument for such process of conscientization and decolonization. In order to do that, it is essential that we learn and acknowledge our counter-history in all of its dimensions. Thus, the following section recounts the adversities and challenges that people of Mexican origin have faced in Arizona, a state that historically has instituted *de jure* and *de facto* racism (Menchaca, 1993).

## Racial Adversity in *Arizuma*,[14] these days known as Arizona: "Sorry, I don't speak Mexican" (Translation: "Mexicans aren't served here")[15]

Abundant research shows that, ever since the northern half of Mexico was annexed to the United States, students of Mexican origin have not been *served* appropriately (Baker, 1996; García, 1999; González, *et al.*, 1998). Their stories are part of a larger historical context that has been obliterated by the "master narrative of American history." The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed by Mexico and the United States on February 2, 1848 officially ended the Mexican-American War. The Treaty guaranteed that those Mexicans living in the new American territories who chose to become citizens of the United States would have "...the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution..." as well as "...the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction" (Treaty, Article IX: 13-14). However, the lack of respect for Mexican culture was soon evident in the official state policies that affected the first Americans of Mexican origin (Acuña, 2003; Hernández, 2001). In 1899, the Arizona legislature passed a bill (Title XIX) establishing English as the official language of instruction in all public schools. Perea (1992) notes that language is an essential element of ethnicity:

> English is a crucial symbol of the ethnicity of America's dominant core culture. Language can be a symbol of group status, a symbol of dominance, and a symbol of participation in or exclusion from the political process. Campaigns to make a language standard or official can thus be seen as attempts to create or reinforce the dominance of the culture of which the language forms an integral part.

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, Mexican children comprised over 50% of all school age children in the State of Arizona (Ruiz 2001), but received no instruction in Spanish. At the same time, schools would place Mexican children in separate classes for "language deficiencies." In the early 1900s, the State of Arizona developed educational

---

[14] In an address before the American Geographical and Statistical Society in 1859, Sylvester Mowry contended that the name Arizona was derived from the Aztec word *Arizuma*. According to Mowry, the Aztec was corrupted into the present word and accepted in Spanish at the time of the U.S. invasion. He did not find definite information about the meaning of *Arizuma* (Mowry, 1859). Most Arizonans today ignore the Spanish/Mexican origin of the word.

[15] Roseann Dueñas González, a scholar who grew up in Arizona in the 1950s, narrates how she realized that "Sorry I don't speak Mexican" became a cover for "Mexican's aren't served here," a common phrase in her youth (Dueñas González, 2000: xxii). In the first half of the twentieth century, and even during the 1960s, signs were common in establishments throughout the American Southwest that read: "No Mexicans or dogs" (Espinoza *et al.*, 2005: 57), "no Mexicans allowed" (Ruiz, 2001), and others.

policies for the Americanization of the Mexican population. Americanization rather than academic achievement was the main objective of these programs in Arizona and in other states of the Union (Aman, 2005; Lucero, 2004).[16] The **assimilation*** of Mexican children was the clear aim of educational policy in this period. Programs to teach English to Mexicans were also part of the requirement for many immigrants who would take citizenship tests. The highest educational opportunities to which Mexicans could aspire were in vocational training, intended to prepare them for labor intensive, low paying jobs (Gonzalez, 1990).

By the 1920s, there were 41 Americanization Centers officially established, most of them under the supervision of a local "Community Committee on Americanization." Many organizations were involved in the process of Americanization, including the Catholic Church, the Y.M.C.A., public universities, etc. (Lucero, 2004). During the Great Depression years, the racist ideas of mainstream Americans characterized Mexican-American and Native American children as "foreign." Ironically, many of these children's ancestors were present in Arizona long before it became part of the United States (Lucero, 2004; Sheridan, 1986).

Around the same period, blatant abuses against Mexican-Americans, Mexican immigrants, and immigrants in general were common in Arizona (Sheridan, 1986 and 1995). A dark episode in Arizona's history that illustrates such abuses is the Bisbee Deportation of 1917. Immediately following the U.S. entry into World War I, copper miners in Bisbee, Arizona walked out on strike. The strikers were labeled by the press as

---

[16] As aliens in their own land Native Americans were also targeted by the racist policies of internal colonialism, "Americanization," and forced assimilation. Dr. Johnson Bia, a Native American of Navajo origin, and an administrator in an Arizona community college, told me the story of his family name. After the Navajo people were dispossessed of their ancient lands and relocated to a much smaller territory, his father was sent to a mandatory boarding school in the 1920s. As noted by Lindauer (1996), such boarding schools were part of a plan by the federal government "to bring about the disappearance of North American Indians, not by military means, but by Americanizing their children in the hope disappearance would occur through assimilation" (37). At the boarding schools, the children were forced to change their Navajo names to "American" names. Dr. Bia's father, as all the other students, had to draw names from a hat and thus his first name became *Andrew*. In a second draw, he pulled what would become his surname: *Bia*. The word is actually an acronym that came from "Bureau of Indian Affairs," the agency in charge of Americanizing Native Americans in the State. Like in the case of other Native American cultures, Navajo customs, practices, institutions and language were the object of cultural genocide (or "ethnocide," according to Clemmer, 1995). The failure of the U.S. government's attempt to exterminate Navajo culture proved felicitous during Second World War: Andrew Bia became one of the Navajo Code Talkers who were crucial in the U.S. campaigns in the Pacific between 1942 and 1945. Fifty years later, in 1992, thirty-five veteran Navajo marines were honored at the Pentagon for their contribution to the defense of the United States. (This narrative comes from a personal conversation with Dr. Johnson Bia on January 24, 2007. References to internal colonialism, cultural genocide, and research by Lindauer and Clemmer are my own).

* Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

"terrorists," "German sympathizers," and "enemies of the country" (Arizona Chapter, 1917). On July 12, 1917, vigilantes rounded up more than a thousand strikers, most of whom were European immigrants and U.S. citizens of Mexican descent,[17] shipped them out of the state by rail, and abandoned them out in the desert of New Mexico in cattle carts without food or water (Bonnand, 1997; Watson, 1977.).[18] According to Fred Watson (1977), the only deportee whose oral history was recorded, many deportees were not strikers or even miners. Later, charges were brought against the vigilantes because of their brutal actions, but no court action resulted (Byrkit, 1972). The State of Arizona took no action against the mining companies (Arizona Board 2000).

The Bisbee Deportation was a crucial event in Arizona's labor history, which had repercussions on labor developments throughout the U.S. (Arizona Board, 2000). The Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) intensified their presence in Arizona and successfully recruited miners from minority groups. The union was most successful recruiting Bisbee's Mexican workers, who were systematically given lower paying jobs (*Ibid.*). Nevertheless, the exploitation of Mexican labor and ethnic conflict would continue (Sheridan, 1995) and the struggles of people of Mexican origin would expand to other dimensions, including the educational arena. In all cases, race and racism appear to be, overtly and covertly, omnipresent elements in such struggles (Ruiz, 2004).

Melcher (1999) has documented the struggle of Mexican women in Arizona against segregation between 1925 and 1950. In a period when civil rights activists in the state faced great challenges, Mexican women challenged the status quo to bring greater intercultural understanding and racial equality. Like activists in other areas of the nation, they were motivated by a variety of concerns, including the desire to protect their children, foster racial support, or gain equal rights. They also resisted institutional structures that subordinated minorities through the educational system. Melcher points out that Arizona laws mandated more severe segregation of African Americans than those existing in most other western states, while school officials segregated Mexican-Americans without the sanction of law (*Ibid.*). Officials based the segregation of African Americans on their desire to separate the races while they justified the segregation of Mexican-Americans of

---

[17] In a list of 900 deportees, 229 are labeled "Mexicans," even though most of them were actually American citizens of Mexican origin (Arizona Board, 2000).

[18] Fred Watson's oral history about the Bisbee Deportation was recorded on tape by Dr. Robert Houston of the University of Arizona on February 12, 1977.

any ethnic origin by pointing to the need for English instruction and gradual assimilation. In both cases, racism was the true essence of the segregation (Melcher, 1999; López, 2004.). Melcher also argues that, while Mexican-Americans experienced discrimination, it was less systematic and more inconsistent than the racism faced by blacks (*Ibid.*).

Delgado (2003) points out that, at precisely the same time when Brown vs. Board of Education officially ended school segregation for African-Americans (1954), Congress was enacting Operation Wetback. He indicates that Critical Theory has referred to these historical contradictions as a form of scapegoating in which members of powerful groups discharge frustration on nonmembers who are not the cause of that frustration but who are safer to attack (*Ibid.*). Indeed, a *de facto* segregation of children of Mexican origin, especially of immigrants, would continue to be the norm in Arizonan public education, often justified with the pretext of language education (Van Hook, 2002).

Lucero (2000) adds that, throughout the first half of the twentieth century in Arizona, children of Mexican origin were publicly humiliated and abused physically and verbally for speaking Spanish on school grounds. Sheridan (1986) narrates the story told to him by a resident of Tucson, Carmen Villa, who remembered how in the late 1950s, as a first grader, she had her mouth washed out with soap for speaking Spanish. She also recalled an Anglo principal telling Mexican children that they "would never amount to anything unless they forgot every word of their native tongue" (*Ibid.*: 219). High school dropout rates for students of Mexican origin in those years were extremely high. Educators would not encourage Mexican students to go to college because, in their eyes, they did not have the mental skills to achieve academic success and because they would not need a higher education for the kind of jobs they would do (Lucero, 2000).

During the 1960s and the early 1970s, a number of political organizations were also formed for the express purposes of seeking recognition, justice, and better opportunities for Mexican-Americans and Chicanos. The aim was to allow these minorities to endorse candidates, to take stands on issues, to register them as voters, and to increase their political participation. Among a number of organizations born throughout the Southwest U.S. was the Association of Mexican-American Educators in California and the American Coordinating Council on Political Education (ACCPE) of Arizona. Originally, the ACCPE was founded in Phoenix to provide political support to elect a Mexican-American Principal in the Phoenix Elementary School District (Samora and

Vandel-Simon, 1993). Finally, in 1983, Louis P. Rodriguez became the first Mexican-American Superintendent of the Phoenix Elementary School District (*Ibid.*).

Meanwhile, the detested but necessary *mojados* inexorably kept crossing the border; although some of them would never make the crossing. Some died in tragic circumstances, drowned, dehydrated, or even murdered (Eschbach, 1999; Scharf, 2006). Others were caught and sent back or jailed by the Border Patrol. In Arizona, undocumented immigrants were also called "aerialists," since they entered the State by climbing barbed wire fences. Immigrants risked dying of dehydration, venomous dessert creatures, and sharp penetrating cacti by crossing through the desert, but they kept coming, pushed by a demographic explosion in Mexico and pulled by much higher wages in the U.S. (Massey *et al.*, 2002). Furthermore, for an increasing number of immigrants there was an even more powerful pull factor in the United States: since many of them had family members who had been living in this country for many generations, emigration was the answer to mend their fractured families (Rodriguez and Hagan, 2004). Eventually they too would be incorporated into the Mexican-American communities throughout Arizona and other states.

In 1988, Arizona adopted a constitutional provision stating that all political subdivisions in the State must "act in English and in no other language" except in limited circumstances involving health and safety issues. In 1995, the Ninth Circuit rejected the provision stating that the law violates the First Amendment of the United States Constitution.[19] A decade later, in the midst of strong anti-immigration sentiments in the State, the English-only movement has acquired new impetus. Currently, more than half of Arizona's 850,000 immigrants (about 450,000) are undocumented and most of them come from Mexico (Fortuny *et al.*, 2007; KVOA, 2005). In a state where the population is about six million with almost a third of Hispanic descent, this is very significant. Most likely, irrespective of how the immigration challenge is resolved, the struggle of communities, students, and parents to preserve Spanish as a valid state language will continue.

---

[19] The First Amendment of the United States Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, press and expression. It reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances" (Library of Congress online: http://www.loc.gov).

During the 1990s, many colleges in progressive states took on the socio-economic challenge posited by undocumented immigration by offering in-state tuition to undocumented residents. The rationale was pragmatically simple and it has had a life-changing impact on these young people: Education dramatically increases their average future earnings and, therefore, the amount of taxes they will pay to the states where they reside. At the same time, the argument goes, it reduces criminal justice and social services costs to taxpayers (Dervarics, 2006). In the new millennium, at least nine states with high immigration flows –including California, New York, and Texas– would enact legislation that allows undocumented students to pay in-state tuition (Drachman, 2006). Arizona is one of the states with the highest proportion of undocumented immigrants (Passel, 2005), but it has never joined the states that offer in-state tuition to undocumented residents. The children of undocumented these tax payers attend public elementary schools and high schools, but usually do not have the means to attend higher education institutions.

In February 2000, a federal court ruled that Arizona's funding of programs for English-language learners was deficient and violated the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974. Although the law requires school districts to help students overcome language barriers in educational programs, the state did not respond to the federal ordinance. At the end of 2005, a new federal ruling gave the Arizona legislature until January 24, 2006 to adequately fund education programs for the state's 160,000 English-language learners or be faced with steep fines (Zehr, 2006b). The president of the state Senate repeatedly expressed that "much of the reason Arizona has to educate so many English-language learners is that the federal government hasn't done its job securing borders" (*Ibid.*). On August 23, 2006, the U.S. Court of Appeals in Arizona ruled that the state would not have to pay the accrued fines for failing to adequately fund English-language learners (Zehr, 2006a). Wright (2005) analyzes the developments that led to this situation from an educational language policy perspective. His research finds that restricted-oriented language policies pervade school reform efforts in Arizona, particularly as State and federal policies intersect. He argues that most of the accommodations for English-learners are being reversed and restricted-oriented policies are having a negative effect on these students (*Ibid.*).

Judging by immigration flows,[20] the number of English-learners in the State will predictably grow. In 2004, the number of apprehensions of undocumented immigrants in Arizona was equivalent to 51% of the nation's total (Barlett, et. al., 2004). However, many immigrants make it through the border and remain in the state. This phenomenon has triggered a renewed anti-immigrant, xenophobic movement throughout the state (*Ibid.*). Consequently, as research by Kay-Oliphant (2005) and Wright (2005) show, new institutional structures are being built in order to subordinate these minorities through the legal, economic, and educational systems. On November 2, 2004, in reaction to the intense anti-immigrant propaganda disseminated throughout the State, Proposition 200 was approved by 56% of Arizona voters. This new law demands proof of U.S. citizenship from anyone requesting basic public services from the State. Since the bill passed, anti-immigrant groups nationwide have focused their attention on Arizona, where intense propaganda and media coverage have spread fear and intimidation. As a result, immigrants are even afraid to access public programs and legal protections to which they are entitled (see Feldblum, 2000; Groody, 2000; Kittrie, 2006; Massey, 2005; Ramos Cardoso, 2007; Veranes and Navarro, 2005).

According to John Gabusi, Vice Chancellor for Government and External Relations at Pima Community College District in Tucson, Arizona, after the extensive negative propaganda surrounding Proposition 200, undocumented residents were more hesitant to go through the formal process to enroll at community colleges, even in basic adult education courses.[21] Traditionally, the community college has been the most accessible higher education institution available to immigrants (Bagnato, 2005; Szelényi and Chang, 2002). Thus, most of these young people, who most likely will remain in the United States, will continue to perpetuate a Mexican-American underclass. Their tragedy is that they grew up in the U.S. and graduated from U.S. high schools, but Arizona laws make it extremely difficult for them to enroll in community colleges and universities. In February 2007, a new anti-immigrant law (Proposition 300) banned immigrants from attending adult education and from obtaining child care assistance and scholarships provided by the state. The law does not ban undocumented residents from higher education, but makes tuition unaffordable for the great majority of them by denying them in-state tuition (Community College, 2007). During the first six months the law was in

---

[20] Please see next chapter for more information.

[21] Dr. John Gabusi, personal conversation. February 1, 2005.

effect, over 4,600 people in Arizona were denied state financial aid, prevented from paying in-state tuition, or rejected from adult-education classes (Hebel, 2007).

Undocumented Mexican immigrants have been the focus of the anti-immigration rhetoric for a long time. Some research contends that contemporary arguments against these immigrants are mostly framed in terms of adverse economic impact rather than their racial character (Hirschman, 2005). Nevertheless, as explained above, the anti-terrorist hysteria has a great potential to be transmuted into new immigration laws that will reinforce institutional racism (Bacon, 2004a; Kay-Oliphant, 2005). Furthermore, under an increasingly adverse atmosphere, the distinction between documented and undocumented immigrants becomes blurry at best (Michelson, 2001). Law enforcement agencies unapologetically utilize racial profiling, stereotyping, and other forms of racial discrimination that disseminate fear (Aguirre, 2004; Coleman, 2007; Delgado, 2006; Ramos Cardoso, 2007). These actions equally intimidate, and sometimes harass, citizens, *legal* residents, and undocumented immigrants simply because of the way they look. At the same time, a group of conspicuous congressmen, media commentators, and scholars demand the militarization of the Mexican border and severe restrictions on legal immigration, while warning of an ominous threat to the U.S. and "Western civilization" (Buchanan, 2002/2006; Crowley, 2005; Malkin, 2002; Huntington, 2004a/2004b).

Romero (2006) argues that police immigration raids in Arizona maintain and reinforce the subjugation and colonization of working-class Latino citizens and immigrants. Through a case study, Romero has analyzed a five day immigration raid in Chandler, Arizona. She claims that law enforcement practices specifically repress and place individuals of Mexican origin at risk before the law and make them into second-class people with inferior rights (*Ibid.*). Such is the sociopolitical climate that people of Mexican ancestry face daily in Arizona and in many other parts of the country. Stereotyping, racial discrimination, and low academic expectations affect them all, citizen or non (Romero, 2006). Educational inequality is just one of the elements of an unjust structure that perpetuates the status quo. Race, socioeconomic status, language, and unfair institutional structures define the boundaries of educational achievement and social mobility of people of Mexican origin (Kay-Oliphant, 2005; Menchaca, 1993; Rodríguez, R., 1997). The following section expands the perspective on the multifaceted dimensions where such structures define the lives of immigrants and citizens who have been constructed as "perpetual foreigners" (Rocco, 2004).

## Demographics, Economics, and Immediate History: "Those who own the present, own the past. Those who own the past, own the future."[22]

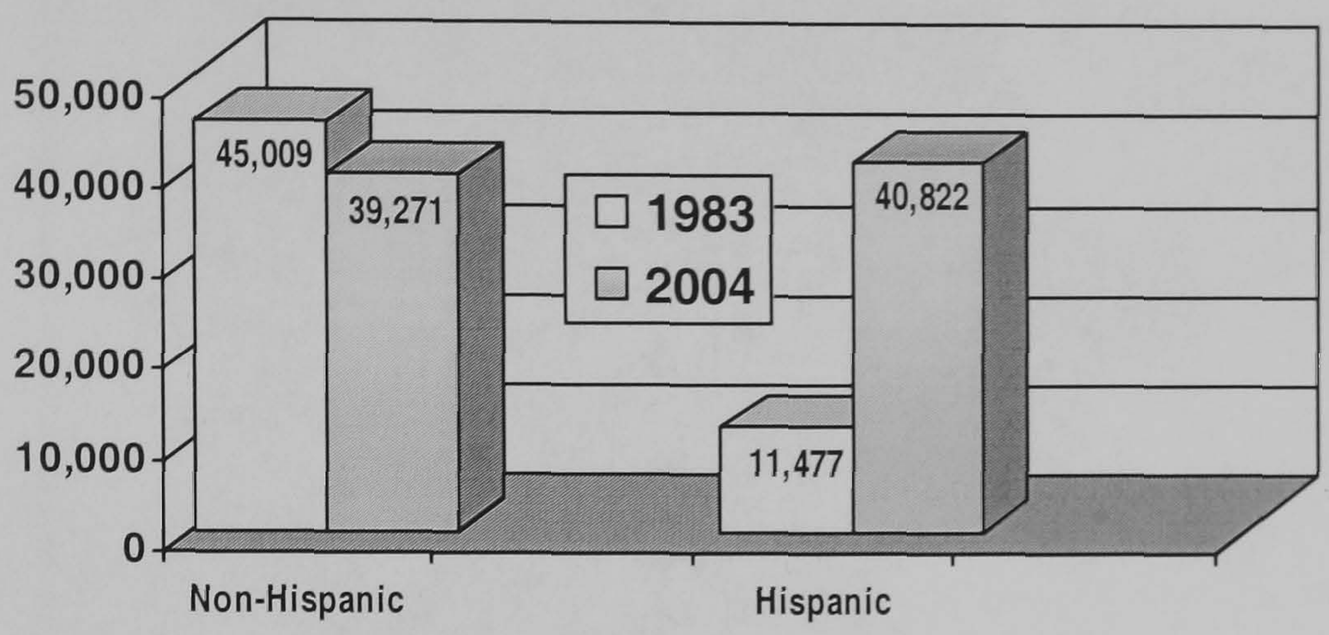
In the 21st century, people of Mexican origin are an integral part of a diverse, complex, and enormous Hispanic population (Criado, 2004). People of Mexican origin comprise 64% of this population (U.S. Census, 2006c), but new Hispanic immigrants also come from countries in Central America, South America, and the Caribbean, residing in many states throughout the country. The U.S. Hispanic population was estimated at 42.7 million in July, 2005, not including the 3.9 million residents of Puerto Rico (U.S. Census, 2006c). With a birth rate significantly higher than the national average (58% and 13% respectively between 1990-2000), Hispanics now constitute 14% of the total U.S. population (Criado, 2004). They also include 53% of all the foreign born population, or about 18.3 million people (U.S. Census, 2006c). According to Census Bureau projections, the Hispanic population will reach 70 million in 2020 (Criado, 2004) and, by the year 2050, they will grow to 102.6 million (Bergman, 2004). Samuel Huntington (2004a and 2004b) notes with alarm that such figures mean that one in every four Americans will be Hispanic by 2050, most of them of Mexican origin. Furthermore, at mid-century, non-Hispanic Whites will have dropped to half of the total population (Bergman, 2004).

Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez (2004), an American researcher of Mexican origin, director of the Ernesto Galarza Applied Research Center of the University of California, Riverside, predicts a great emergence of the population of Mexican origin in the twenty-first century. According to Vélez-Ibáñez (*Ibid.*), by 2100 the population of Mexican origin will make up slightly less than a third of the entire U.S. population and will still face the challenges of economic inequality, sharp social stratification, and modest educational attainment (*Ibid.*). This population proportion is already true of Hispanics in California and Texas, the most populated states in the nation, where they represent slightly *more* than one third of the total population (U.S. Census, 2006c). If we look at birth rates as an indicator of Hispanic population trends, the state of Arizona is an illustration of astonishing growth. In this state, non-Hispanic White births have declined by 13% since 1983, but births to Hispanic women have increased by 256%. In 2004, the majority of newborns in Arizona were Hispanic (See graph 1). In a press release on December 22, 2006, the Census

---

[22] Ronald Takaki, quoting George Orwell, in his answer to the question: *Who owns history?* (Takaki, 2007b).

Bureau reported that Arizona has become the fastest growing state in the nation (Bernstein, 2006).




**Graph 1.**

**Number of births to women aged 15-44 in Arizona, 1983 & 2004**

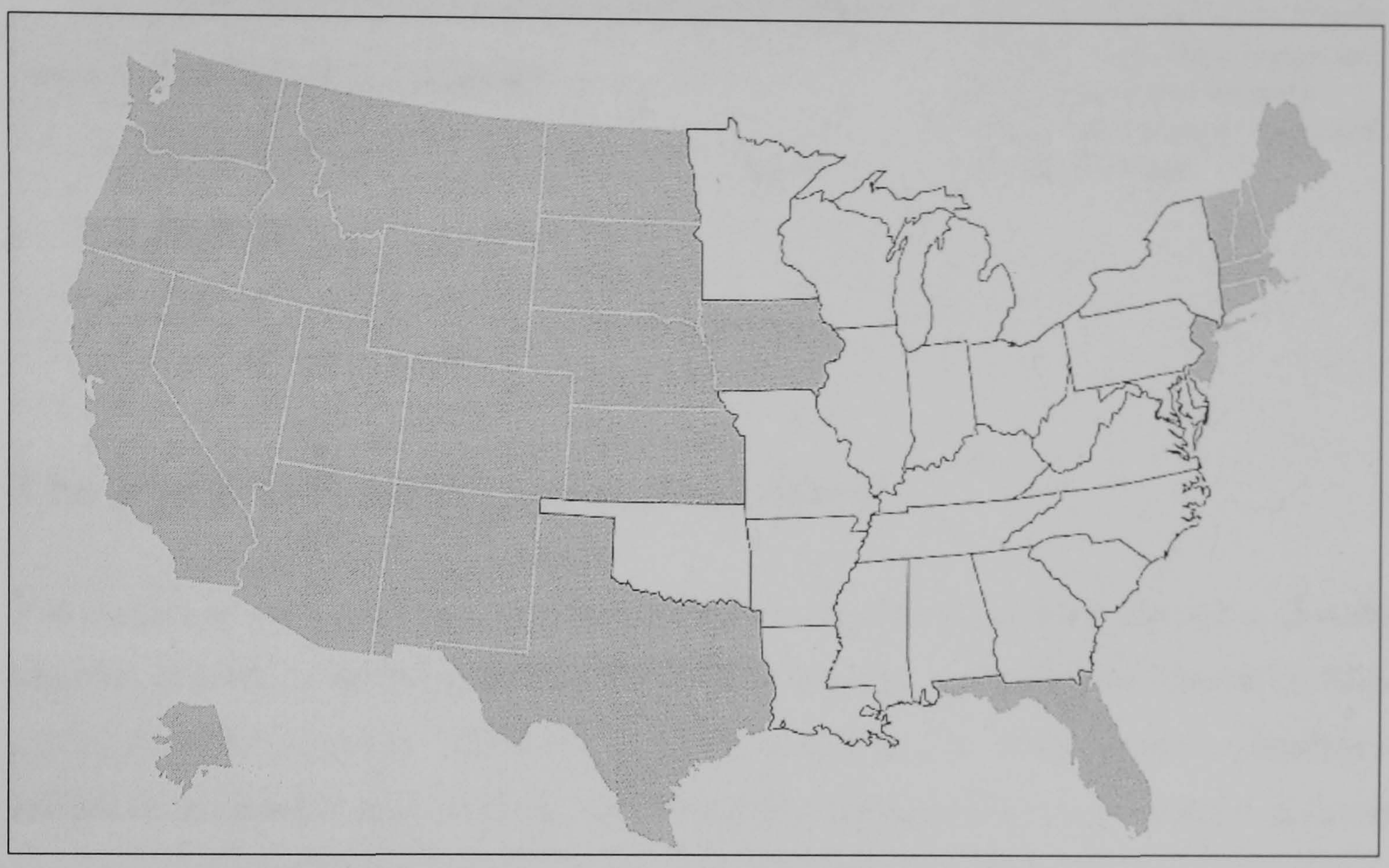
Source: Arizona Health Status and Vital Statistics 2004 report, Arizona Department of Health Services (Arizona Health, 2004).

**Map 2:**
**Thirteen states where Hispanics were the largest minority group in 1990.**

Source: Tomás Rivera Policy Institute Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau Data, 1970, 1990, 2000, 2004.

## Map 3:
## The Hispanic Expansion in 2004

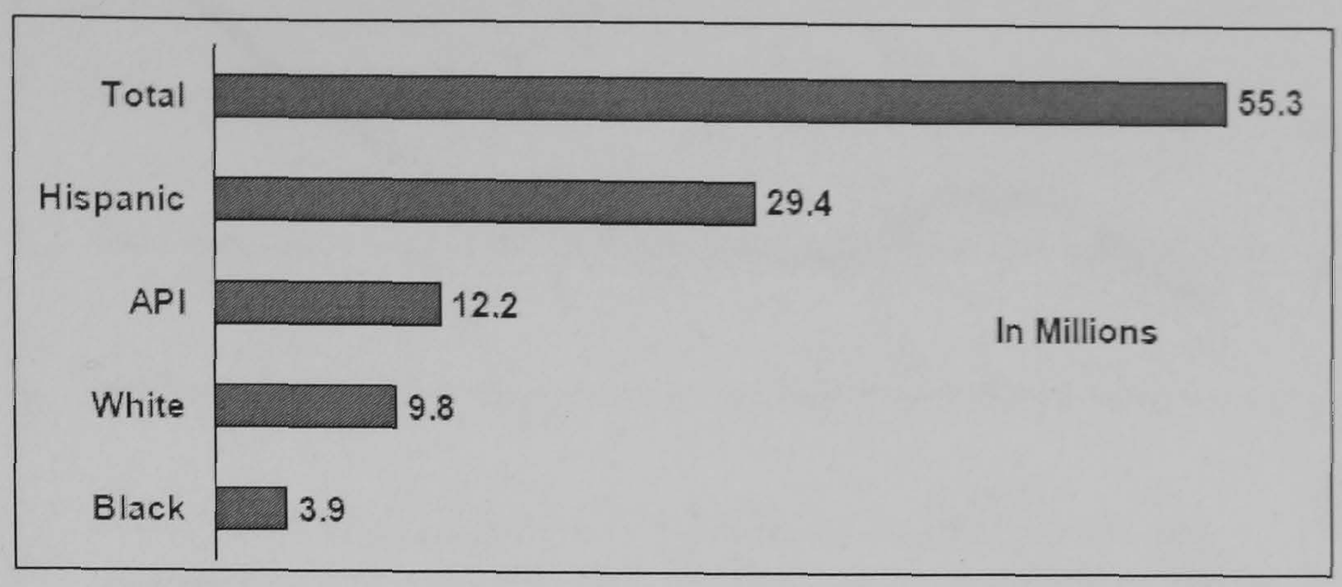
From 1990 to 2004, the U.S. Hispanic population grew by over 18 million. The number of states with Hispanics representing the largest minority doubled (to 26) during this time.



Source: Tomás Rivera Policy Institute Analysis of U.S. Census Bureau Data, 1970, 1990, 2000, 2004.

The growing flow of documented and undocumented Hispanic immigration to the U.S. has had an impact on the abovementioned population growth (see graph 2). People of Mexican origin in the U.S. are a clear example of this, since now more than four of every ten of them are first-generation immigrants (U.S. Census, 2002/2007). This reality inevitably has demographic consequences: People of Mexican ancestry in the U.S. have a median age of 25.3, compared to 40.1 of the White non-Hispanic population, almost a 15 year difference. Incredibly, about one third of the Mexican-origin population is made of children, while their poverty rate is about 24% or higher (US Census, 2007). The Pew Hispanic Center has estimated that, "Of the 29 million Latinos added due to post-1966 immigration, 17 million were immigrants and 12 million were their U.S.-born offspring" (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006b: 4). One of every five children living in the United States is now an immigrant or a child of an immigrant, and 62% of those children are Hispanic (Perreira et al., 2006).

**Graph 2**
**Portion of the last 100 million increase in population attributable to post-1966 immigrants and offspring, by race and ethnicity, 2006.**




Source: Pew Hispanic Center estimates (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006b). Note: Race groups are for people of non-Hispanic origin. API refers to Asian and Pacific Islanders.

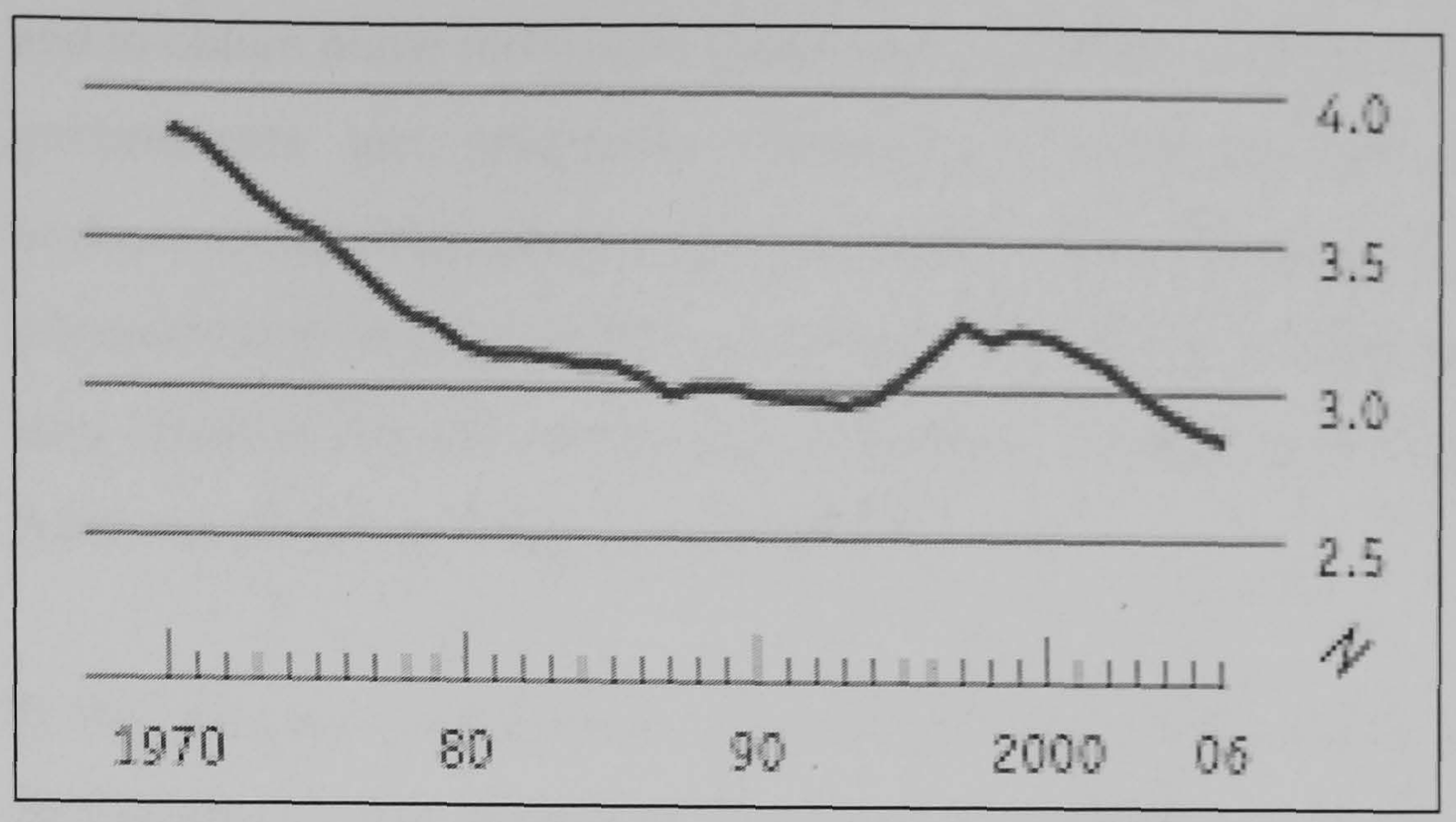
## The Political Economy of Immigration[23]

The impact of undocumented and documented immigration has been the cause of acrid national debates in different arenas (political, economic, cultural) that cannot be fully explored in this research. However, although less than 2% of the world's population resides in a country other than that of their birth, immigration is a prominent political issue in all developed market economies (Money, 1999). Industrialized nations tend to develop anti-immigrant sentiments when their economies shrink and are more inclined to support immigration flows when they grow (*Ibid.*). The U.S. is not an exception (Bustamante, 1976; Massey et al., 2004), but recently it has been argued that, in spite of a relatively strong economy, new anti-immigrant sentiments have been sparked by the doctrine of the Anti-Terrorist State (Bacon, 2004; Kay-Oliphant, 2005; Tancredo, 2006). To make matters worse, economic analyses show that the U.S. economy's potential for long-term growth is falling, perhaps to its lowest in over a century (see graph 3), while gross domestic product (GDP)[24] has fallen sharply (The Economist, 2006).

[23] Political economists criticize mainstream models that ignore the historical contexts that shape all human events, while they assert that political power and economic activity cannot be understood separately (Schneider et al., 2005). Thus, political economy differs from mainstream economics in its much broader focus on "the relationships of the economic system and its institutions to the rest of society and social development. It is sensitive to the influence of non-economic factors such as political and social institutions, morality, and ideology in determining economic events" (Riddell, Shackelford, and Stamos, 1998. Quoted by Schneider *et al.*, 2005: 4).

[24] Gross domestic product is a measure of the value of all final goods and services produced by the domestic economy and sold on organized markets in one year (Baumol and Blinder, 2005). GDP can be measured by the computation of all incomes (wages, interest, profits) and expenditures (consumption, investment, government purchases and net exports)—exports minus imports. In the early 20th century, U.S. GDP grew considerably thanks to technological innovation and rapid immigration (The Economist, 2006).

**Graph 3: Potential U.S. GDP percentage growth**




Source: Robert Gordon, Northwestern University (quoted by The Economist, 2006)

One of the main concerns for the American economy is the fall in the participation rate of the labor force (The Economist, 2006). Economists recommend that labor supply be revitalized by boosting immigration flows, especially since the proportion of immigrants who work is higher than that of native-born Americans (*Ibid.*). Paradoxically, political trends and legislation appear to be going in the opposite direction (Kay-Oliphant, 2005). Conservative political leaders who oppose immigration vociferously preach about the "immigrant invasion" and are gaining followers. Paul Buchanan, a three-time presidential candidate, has written best sellers entitled The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasion Imperil Our Country (2002) and State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America (2006). Congressman Tom Tancredo, Chair of the Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus, has written In Mortal Danger: The Battle for America's Border and Security (2006), where he explains how Mexican immigrants are endangering the future of the United States.

While immigration issues are used as either opportunistic or ideological tools to win elections, in an apparently schizophrenic behavior, the U.S. Federal Reserve has devised programs to extend banking programs to undocumented immigrants and about 150 financial institutions have followed its lead (Jordan, 2006). Similarly, although undocumented immigrants cannot obtain a social security number to work "legally," the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) allows them to file taxes by applying for an Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN), originally designed for foreigners with a temporary authorization to reside in the U.S., but now widely used by undocumented immigrants. The IRS issued an estimated 1.2 million ITINs in 2005, up from roughly 838,000 issued in 2004 (Gorman, 2006). The state governments also have

started programs to allow undocumented immigrants to pay state taxes (Bartlett, 2006) and to obtain home mortgages (Huffstutter, 2006). These actions by the federal and state governments are pragmatic solutions to maximize the potential benefit from undocumented immigration (Porter, 2005). The National Academy of Sciences has estimated that immigrants pay an average of nearly $1,800 per person more in taxes than they claim in benefits, while they contribute as much as $10 billion a year to the U.S. economy (Smith and Edmonston, 1997).

In the past, the Cato Institute, a prominent conservative think-tank, surveyed 38 former presidents of the American Economic Association and the past chairmen of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Eighty percent agreed that immigration has been "very favorable" for the nation's economic growth," while 74% agreed that undocumented immigrant workers have had "a positive impact" on the U.S. economy (Simon, 1995). The Cato Institute study concluded that, on balance, immigrants do not displace native workers, depress wages or abuse welfare (See table 2).

**Table 2: Survey of "the most respected economists" by the Cato Institute (1995)**

| **On balance, what effect has 20th-century immigration had on the nation's economic growth?** | % |
|---|---|
| Very favorable | 80 |
| Slightly favorable | 20 |
| Slightly unfavorable | -- |
| Very unfavorable | -- |
| Don't know | -- |
| **What impact does illegal immigration in its current magnitude have on the U.S. economy?** | % |
| Illegals (Sic) have a positive impact | 74 |
| Illegals (Sic) have a neutral impact | 11 |
| Illegals (Sic) have a negative impact | 11 |
| Don't know | 4 |

Source: The Cato Institute and the National Immigration Forum (Simon, 1995).

Contrary to the anti-immigration rhetoric, the Cato Institute findings were further corroborated in June 2006 by an open letter to President George Bush and Congress from more than 500 renowned economists, including five Nobel laureates. The letter asserts that "immigration has been a net gain for American citizens," conceding that, "while a small percentage of native-born Americans may be harmed by immigration, vastly more Americans benefit from the contributions that immigrants make to the economy, including lower consumer prices. As with trade in goods and services, gains from immigration outweigh the losses" (Wall Street Journal, 2006).

Specifically regarding undocumented immigrants, The Economist (2000) has put it simply:

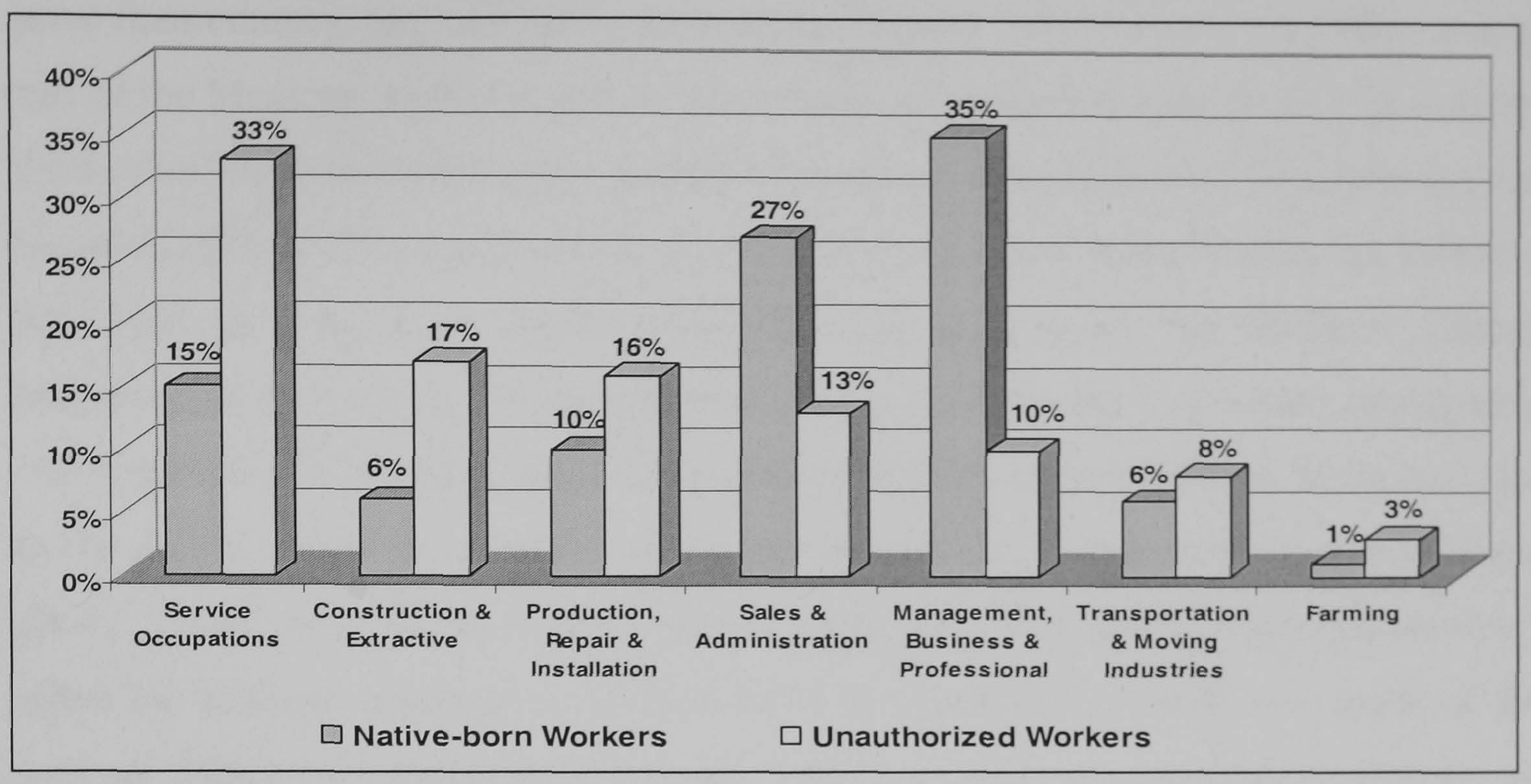
> The embarrassing secret is the importance to daily life of illegal immigrants. Every American politician claims to condemn their presence, but without them the domestic life of middle-class America would fall apart; food prices would climb steeply as produce rotted in the fields; hotel rooms would stand uncleaned; swimming pools would become septic tanks; and taxis would disappear from the streets. In short, the country would grind to a halt.

It has been estimated that undocumented Mexican immigrants alone contribute at least $154 billion to the U.S. GDP (Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2001).[25] Thus, the contributions of documented and undocumented immigrants go far beyond the benefits of cheap labor, since they are literally an engine of growth and economic vitality in many sectors (Ewing, 2003). The service sector, the construction and extractive industries, and manufacturing are clear examples of areas where undocumented immigrants make significant contributions to the U.S. economy (see graph 4). Moreover, the Ewing Marion Kauffmann Foundation has reported that immigrants far outpaced native-born Americans in entrepreneurial activity. In each month of 2005, 350 out of 100,000 adult immigrants created their own businesses, compared to 280 of every 100,000 native-born Americans (Fairlie, 2006). The U.S. Census Bureau reported that between 1997 and 2002, Hispanic businesses alone grew by 31%, equivalent to three times the national average for all businesses (Bergman, 2006). Finally, in addition to consumer spending and billions in direct tax contributions to the federal, state and local government, immigration can be the solution to the problem of the U.S. social security system, which is being strained by an ageing population and a declining labor force (Ewing, 2003; Porter, 2005; Tienda and Mitchell, 2006).

---

[25] To put this figure in comparative perspective, the size of the *undocumented Mexican economy* in the U.S. is larger than the Chilean and the Venezuelan economies. Chile's GDP was estimated in 115.6 billion at official exchange rates in 2005. Venezuela's GDP was estimated in 106.1 billion for the same year (CIA, 2006). As an indicator of the economic activity generated by these hard working people, just in a three month period in California, undocumented immigrants made bank deposits for $50 million (Renshon, 2005: 243).

Graph 4:
**Undocumented immigrants make a significant contribution in some sectors of the economy**




Source: Pew Hispanic Center (Passel, 2005).

The U.S. currently has a larger proportion of undocumented immigrants than at any time in history (Massey, 2005; Gans, 2006), most of them from Latin American countries (see graph 5). The full vitality and dynamism they could bring to the economy if they were "legalized" is not achieved due to political, ideological, and racial prejudices. These immigrants and their children, many of whom are U.S. citizens, by virtue of their "illegality" –or simply because they are the offspring of undocumented parents– are

> …marginalized from the rest of American society, economically vulnerable, politically disenfranchised, and fearful of contact with social institutions that deliver health care and education. Undocumented children who grow up in, but were not born in, the United States face an impermeable ceiling to economic mobility and strong barriers to their incorporation into mainstream society. If U.S. officials had set out to intentionally create a new underclass, they could hardly have done a better job (Massey, 2005: 2).

The magnitude of Mexican immigration to the United States and their status can be appreciated in graphs five, six, and seven. Graph six shows that almost 25% of all authorized, or "legal," immigration in the last decade of the 20th century was of Mexican origin. Considering their extended family structures, this fact alone increases the likelihood of continuous family ties across borders and may promote further immigration. A revealing fact of the era of telecommunications is the growth in calls from the U.S. to Meixco, which grew by 171% between 1995-2001 and is now "the largest destination of all outgoing American telecommunications" (Vertovec, 2004).

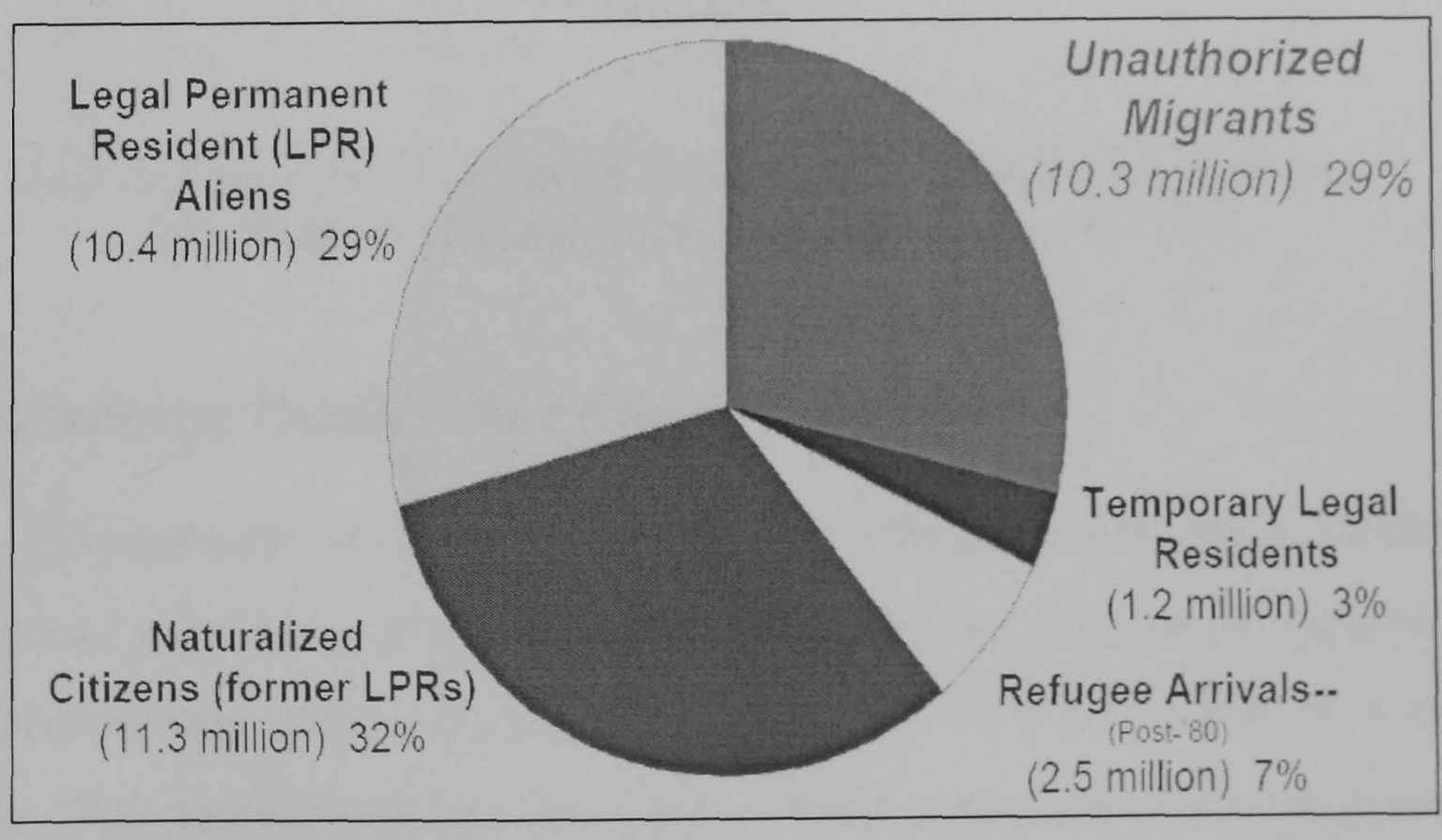
Finally, a survey taken by the Pew Hispanic Center shows that 82% of all Mexican immigrants have relatives in the United States (see Table 3). Undoubtedly, when they leave their country, they also leave relatives in Mexico. At the end of the 1980s, around half of the Mexican adult population were related to someone living in the U.S. and one third of all Mexicans had been to the United States sometime in their lives (Massey and Espinosa, 1997). This reveals an extensive network of relatives and friends that probably will have an impact on future immigration as well as on the Hispanic cultural phenomenon in the U.S. Undocumented immigrant residents, authorized immigrants, and Americans of Mexican origin have strong family structures that are being fractured by the political economy surrounding the immigration conundrum (Rodríguez and Hagan, 2004). Issues of family unification, human rights, and transnational economic survival[26] affect all of them, irrespective of their status in the country. And, as a result of the national debate over immigration reform, 54% of all Hispanics in the U.S. perceive an increase in discrimination (Suro and Escobar, 2006).

**Table 3:**
**Survey of Mexican Immigrants in the U.S., 2005**

Source: Pew Hispanic Center (from The Economist, 2005)

| Do you have relatives in the US? | % | How much English do you speak? | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 82 | None/a little | 54 |
| No | 13 | Some/a lot | 44 |

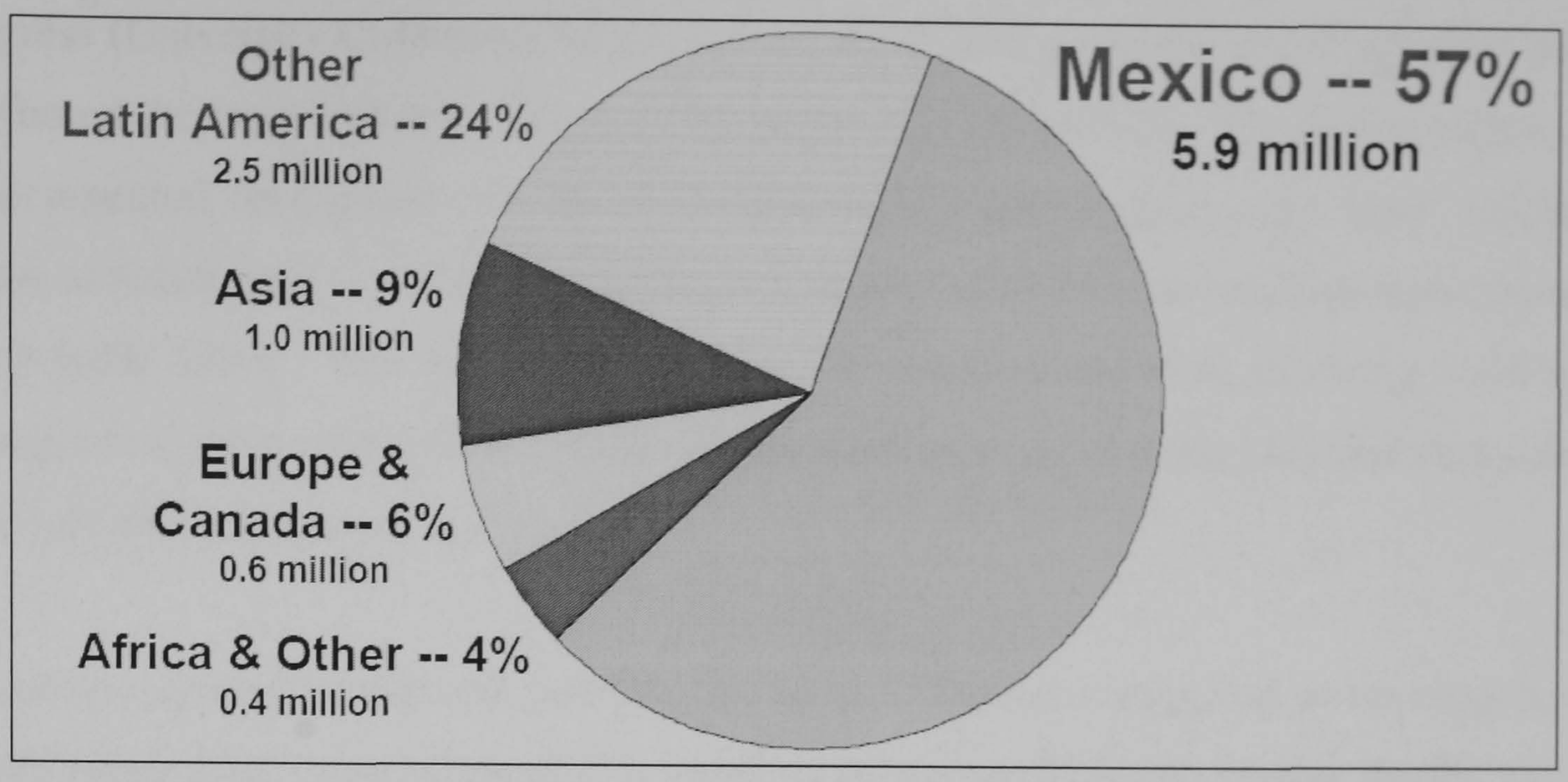
**Graph 5: Status of immigrants in the U.S. in 2004**




Source: Pew Hispanic Center (from Passel, 2005)

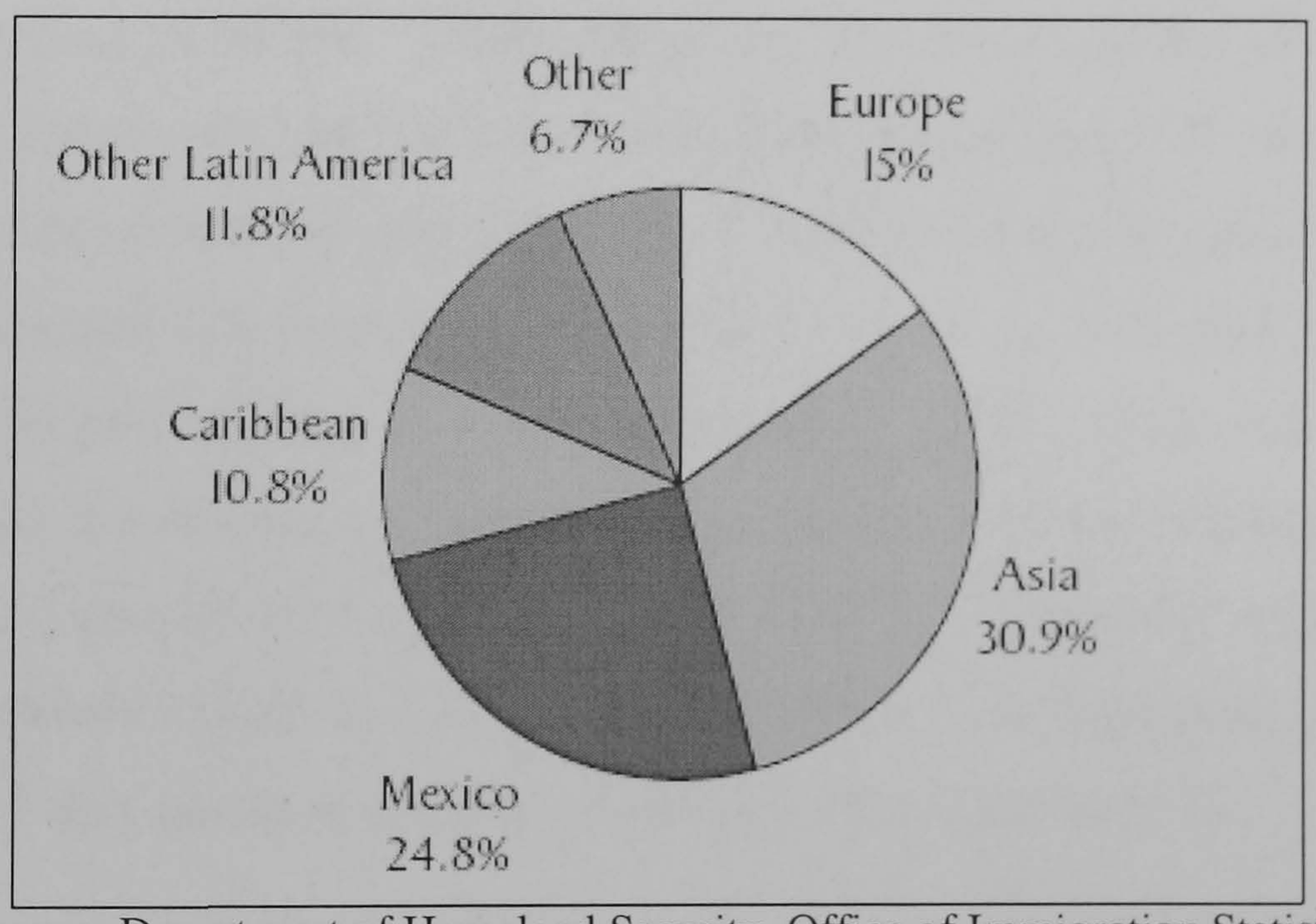
[26] With the term *transnational economic survival*, I refer to the fact that, although families are increasingly divided by the U.S.-Mexico border, they have strong economic links across the political boundaries. For instance, according to the Inter-American Development Bank, in 2005, Mexicans living in the U.S. sent over US$20 billion in remittances to family members in Mexico (www.iadb.org/mif/remittances/).

**Graph 6: Undocumented immigrants by origin in 2004**




Source: Pew Hispanic Center (from Passel, 2005)

**Graph 7: Origins of 9.1 million authorized immigrants arriving in the United States between 1991 and 2000**




Source: Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2003 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics (From Massey, 2005).

## The Economics of Death: Go away, we need you

Arizona is the epitome of the caustic national climate surrounding undocumented immigration and its perceived consequences. In 2004, the number of apprehensions of undocumented immigrants in Arizona was equivalent to 51% of the nation's total (Barlett *et. al.*, 2004). The state has become the main route for undocumented immigrants into the U.S. and has a large undocumented population. At the national level, the owners of capital, landowners, and employers gain the most from immigration, but the high immigrant receiving states like Arizona bear higher fiscal costs (Hanson, 2005). Thus, undocumented immigration has become an extremely contentious issue in the state. In

2006, as many as 50 pieces of anti-immigrant legislation were considered by the state congress (University Communications, 2006). As discussed above, new legislation has reinforced the castification of people of Mexican origin in Arizona. The human rights of undocumented immigrants are being diminished by new English-only laws, limited access to public services, and restricted access to adult education and child care programs (Archibold, 2006). The new legislation also bans immigrants from receiving punitive damages in civil lawsuits (*Ibid.*), which makes them even more vulnerable and opens the door for further employer abuses.

The abuses against immigrants generally do not get media coverage, but an investigation by the Associated Press conducted in 2004 revealed that Mexican worker deaths were rising sharply, even as U.S. workplace safety was improving overall (Pritchard, 2004). According to the report, in the mid-1990s, Mexicans were about 30% more likely to die at the workplace than native-born workers, but this probability rose to about 80% in 2004. It is a "worsening epidemic" where Mexicans are almost twice as likely as other immigrants to die at work and four times more likely to die than U.S.-born workers, with an average of one victim per day (*Ibid.*).[27] AP's interviews with public safety officials and workers revealed that immigrants are hired to work cheaply in more risky conditions, and without proper training or safety equipment. Their work culture and safety expectations do not discourage higher risk-taking and they are reluctant to complain. Moreover, in the case of undocumented immigrants, their "illegality" makes them fearful of attracting attention (Kittrie, 2006) and, even if they have legitimate grievances, they may be silent if they speak no English (Pritchard, 2004) (see table 3).

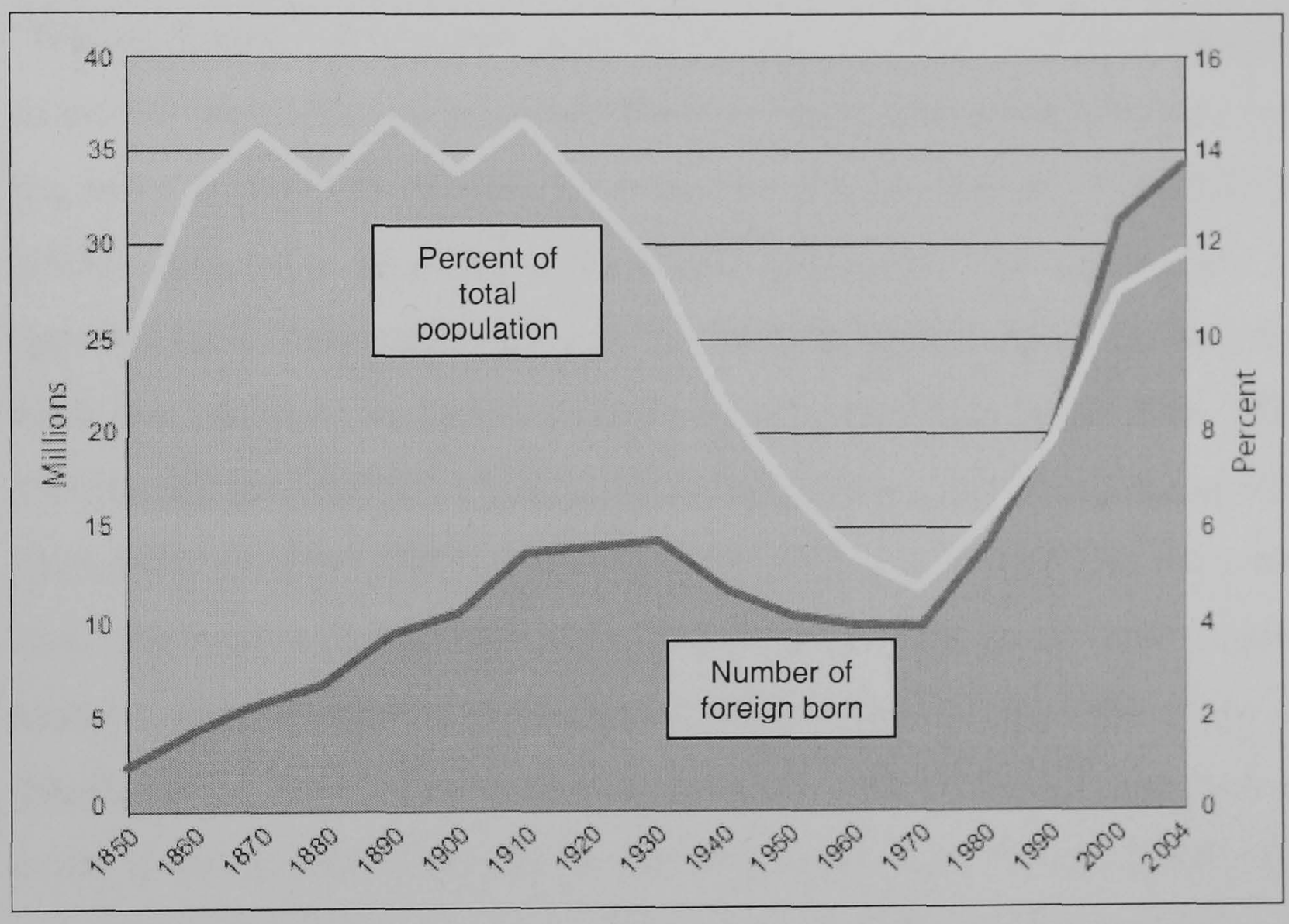
As this goes on, Arizona, and the U.S. economy in general, increasingly depend on immigrant labor. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, even with a slowing economic growth, the US will have a deficit of 10 million workers by 2011. Including unskilled workers, the country will have a shortage of 21 million workers by 2015 (Zeiss, 2006). When the economy has grown rapidly, the pull factor attracting immigrants has been much stronger and has promoted undocumented immigration (Massey *et al.*, 2002).

---

[27] Also in 2004, the American Journal of Industrial Medicine revealed that, between 1992 and 2000, Hispanic construction workers were nearly twice as likely to be killed by occupational injuries as their non-Hispanic counterparts (Dong and Platner, 2004). Similarly, California farmworkers –most of who are people of Mexican origin– have high levels of leukemia and stomach, uterine and brain cancer, but most farmworkers have few options for other employment. Most of them are recent, non-English speaking immigrants and more than half are undocumented. Thus, relatively few complain to state or federal agencies for fear of losing their job or being deported (Clarren, 2003).

Between 1996 and 2000, the economic boom in the U.S. created 14.3 million new jobs, but the country's population increased only by 12.3 million *including immigration* (Gans, 2006). Moreover, since not all the 12.3 million people were of working age, it has been estimated that 1.1 million more jobs were created per year than population growth during this five-year period (*Ibid.*). Currently, the slow native population growth creates tight labor markets and raises wages, therefore attracting undocumented workers who are willing to take low-paying jobs (Hanson, 2005). Between 1990 and 2004, the foreign born population in the U.S. increased dramatically (see table 8) and immigrants accounted for over 50% of growth in the labor force (Gans, 2006).

**Graph 8: Number and percent of foreign born in the United States 1850-2004**




Source: Immigration Policy Program at the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy. The University of Arizona (Gans, 2006).

Absurdly, given this context, Mexican immigrants are dying in record numbers trying to gain access to the labor markets in the U.S. According to the Migration Policy Institute (2005), as concerns about security have increased and led to intensified border policing, border deaths have increased by 41%. In 2004 at least 330 Mexican immigrants died trying to cross the U.S.-Mexico border. In 2005, a record 464 immigrants died. Incredibly, more than half of the deaths (260) occurred in the Arizona desert (Migration, 2005). Since 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement was signed into

effect,[28] it is estimated that more than 3,000 Mexicans have died attempting to cross the border (Arizona Independent Media, 2005). The death toll has grown every year as a result of law enforcement policies that push immigrants out of more accessible areas into the remote desert. These deaths are equivalent in numbers to the human loses suffered in New York in the events of September Eleventh or to the casualties in the attack on Pearl Harbor, but this almost silent mortality rate has not yet captured much political or public attention.

Paradoxically, as fears grow about the "unsafe" southern border and a possible terrorist attack coming through Mexico (see Malkin, 2002 and Tancredo, 2006), the U.S. depends on both "illegal" Mexican immigrants and American citizens of Mexican origin for its "War on Terror." It has been reported through research, and even through the press, that an increasing number of people of Mexican origin, notoriously students, are recruited into the ranks of the U.S. military for economic reasons (Davis, 2007; Hil, 2005; Mariscal, 2005). The New Internationalist (*Ibid.*) noted that "the green card troops" and the "poverty draft" were disproportionally made up of Mexicans and Mexican descendants, while their share of the deaths was also "disproportionally high" (Hil, 2005). In addition, it criticized the recruitment campaign that allowed recruits in active duty to apply for citizenship once they join up rather than having to wait years for the granting of a green card. The same year, the New York Times reported that there were increasing numbers of deaths among soldiers of Mexican origin recruited by the U.S. Army to fight in Iraq (McKinley Jr., 2005). Both citizen and non-citizen of Mexican origin most often enlist as a way to get an education and get out of poverty. They are promised technical training and money for college after they serve. Undocumented immigrants become "green card marines" enticed by the massive publicity campaigns by the Pentagon targeting Hispanics and by the recruiters who target high schools with heavy populations of Mexican origin (Landau, 2006). By March of 2006, when the UK announced that its troops would be reduced by 800 to 7000 (BBC News, 2006), almost 25,000 undocumented Mexicans had

---

[28] The North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, was signed by the governments of Canada, Mexico and the United States in order to liberalize trade relations among the three countries. The Agreement is a model of economic integration that facilitates the movements of capital, investment, goods and services across borders and it was expected to boost employment in Mexico. However, as large multinational corporations have displaced Mexican small businesses, the country has not created enough jobs to keep up with demand (Moody, 2007). Paradoxically, the movement of labor across borders, a key component of economic integration in other parts of the world, has become more restricted for Mexicans who want to emigrate to the U.S. Meanwhile, the Mexican government has suppressed wages and labor organizations in order to attract foreign investment, which in turn has intensified the push factor that encourages emigration to the United States (Bacon, 2004b).

enlisted for military service in the U.S. (Landau, 2006). Many of them were brought to the country by their parents when they were children: they attended school in the U.S. and speak English, but they have never had the opportunity to become citizens (*Ibid.*). Now Mexicans make up 13% of the Marine Corps, by far exceeding the proportion of people of Mexican origin in the total population who are eligible to serve (*Ibid.*).

Meanwhile, in Arizona, new legislation (July, 2007) imposes severe penalties on employers who hire undocumented workers. At the same time, one in ten workers in the state is undocumented. Therefore, if the law was to be strictly enforced, it would harm the state's economy, "Which suggests it will not be" (The Economist, 2007). Research from by the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy at The University of Arizona supports this prediction. The Udall Center has estimated that immigrant workers generate about 12 percent of Arizona's economic output and that immigrants, including non-citizens, make an important contribution to the state (Gans, 2007). For now, as other state laws that in the past have been found unfeasible or even unconstitutional, the new legislation increases the exploitability and vulnerability of undocumented immigrants (see for example Cacho, 2000 on the effects of Proposition 187 in California). They will continue to help boost economic growth, reduce inflationary pressure, and fill labor shortages (Simon, 1995; The Economist, 2001; Wall Street Journal, 2006), while hundreds of unsuccessful migrants die in the Arizona desert every year. Such is the economics of death and hypocrisy surrounding the immediate history of the Mexican immigration phenomenon in the U.S.

The dominant stories, pieces of the colonizing "regime of truth," and the "master narrative of American history" exclude the other side of memory. The memory of those driven by historical, social, and economic realities in their movement across borders and cultures. They will continue to cross the border to reunite with their families and to meet the voracious demand for immigrant workers in the large services and agricultural sectors of the U.S. economy (Rozental, 2007). Their challenges will be many if they want to be part of an egalitarian and democratic society, but perhaps the most important will be educational development. The following chapter reviews the literature concerning sources of educational failure and achievement in students of Mexican origin. They constitute some of the contexts and dimensions that Americans of Mexican origin and immigrants from Mexico have to navigate in their quest for educational advancement.

# DETERMINANTS OF FAILURE AND ACHIEVEMENT IN STUDENTS OF MEXICAN ORIGIN

> Deficit thinking exists when educators interpret differences as deficits, dysfunctions and disadvantages. Consequently, many diverse students quickly acquire the "at-risk" label and there is a focus on their shortcomings rather than their strengths. This thinking hinders the ability and willingness of educators to recognize the strengths of students from diverse ethnic, racial, and language groups (Ford, 2005: 381).

## Review of Relevant Literature

Research has found a myriad of social factors that are responsible for the educational underachievement of people of Mexican origin. Such barriers include: low education of parents (Salas, 2003; Shannon, 1996); negative stereotypes (Villenas and Deyhle, 1999); teen pregnancies (Méndez-Negrete *et al.*, 2006); lack of role models (Rodríguez, C.E., 1997; Yosso, 2002); language barriers (Alva and Padilla, 1995; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995; Wright, 2005); dysfunctional families (Hovey, 2000); curricular and classroom inequalities (Darder, 1991); low expectations (Glick, 2004; Warren, 1996); racism and discrimination (Carger, 1996; Delgado, 2003/2006; Kay-Oliphant, 2005; Fendrich, 1983; López, 2004; Ogbu, 1986; Parker, 1999; Stone and Han, 2005); lack of teacher training to educate multicultural populations (Battle, 2006); lack of institutional resources (Berlinger and Biddle, 1995; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995); and immigrant status (Bohn *et al.*, 2005). Finally, at the root of many of these problems, the basic reality of poverty subjugates an enormous proportion of students of Mexican origin (Bohon *et. al.*, 2005; Lichter *et al.*, 2005; Orfield and Lee, 2005; Stein, 1990). And poverty, some scholars argue, is in part the result of racial differences (Lichter, 1988; Lichter *et al.*, 2005; Segal and Kilty, 2003).

When seeking the determinants of academic failure and success among students of Mexican origin, it matters greatly whether students or their parents were born in the United States or in Mexico. About 44% of all adult *Hispanic* immigrants drop out of school before earning their high-school diplomas, compared with about 15% of those born in the United States. (Schmidt, 2003). Hispanics are actually more likely to enroll in college than their White peers, yet they are less likely to graduate from four-year universities (*Idem.*). About 40% of Hispanic college students between 18 and 24 are enrolled in community colleges and two year institutions, compared with 25% of black

and 25%of White students (*Idem.*). However, the term "Hispanic," officially utilized by government agencies, conceals important demographic differences. For example, Mexican-American students 18 to 24 are about half as likely as their Puerto Rican or Cuban-American peers to be enrolled in community colleges (*Ibid.*). "Students of Mexican descent are dropping out of school at nearly three times the rate of their Cuban American counterparts, while also scoring significantly lower on Stanford achievement tests than Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Colombian Americans." (Ream, 2005: 7). Such realities mean that the six participants in this research were among the most vulnerable students in their quest for educational achievement.

## Race, class, and discrimination
## "Mexicans are dirty"[29]

Throughout U.S. history, the racial denigration of people of Mexican origin has had both inward ramifications, facilitating the subjugation of immigrant and U.S. born Mexicans, and outward, toward Mexico and Latin America (De Genova, 2005). From different perspectives, contemporary researchers utilize *racism* as a category of analysis because, as pointed out by Ladson-Billings (1998), racism is "normal," not aberrant, in U.S. society. In his review of books on race, Delgado (2006) concurs with this premise and points out that

> Much racism today is unintentional, unstated, quite polite, and even normal. Embedded in a host of behaviors, attitudes, expectations, rules of the game, and norms is a system of advantage and exclusion that constantly places whites on top at the expense of others" (1275).

Race and class are independent concepts, but they have been interlaced throughout history. From one approach, racism is a consequence of capitalism, "which splits the working class, creates hierarchies of privilege among waged workers and ensures an industrial reserve army of less-enfranchised labour" (Sivanandan, quoted by

---

[29] McKenzie (2004) reports that 90% of Texas schools were segregated by 1930, while some schools were designated exclusively for Mexicans. Supporters of segregation claimed that "Mexicans are dirty" and pointed out poor housing and other conditions of poverty to support their views (76-77). The stereotype of the "dirty Mexican" has not disappeared in the 21st century. In her analysis of internalized oppression and racism, Padilla (2001) relates a conversation with a college classmate who was delivering a tirade about the detriments of undocumented Mexican immigration. When she interrupted, informing him that she was Mexican-American, the classmate's response was: "But you're not a *dirty Mexican*," and continued his diatribe (59). From another perspective, Hill (2006) argues that the environmental concerns raised about Mexico when the North American Free Trade Agreement was signed (1994), propagated the belief that immigrants were the pollutants. Hill claims that the environmental debate and media reporting intensified the American stereotype of Mexicans as "dirty" and "unhygienic" (*Ibid.*).

Bhattacharyya *et al.*, 2002: 36). The interlacing of race and class factors also has been studied in connection with the underachievement of students of Mexican origin. In a pioneering study in Tucson, Arizona, Bender and Ruiz (1974) explored the links between race and class in determining underachievement and underaspiration among Mexican-American and Anglo high school students. In their study, they stressed the importance of belonging to a particular social class. They found that class membership is more critical than race in determining levels of achievement and aspiration of Mexican-Americans. Their conclusion was that, when developing curriculum aimed at improving the achievement rates of this population, "class membership should be seriously considered in program development" (54). The implication is that, by not paying attention to this factor, schools may be promoting student underachievement.

López and Stanton-Salazar (2001) argue that Mexican-Americans may react to the "quasi-racial stereotyping" and their low class status with reduced motivation and achievement. Specifically with regard to immigrant communities, their class status becomes a relentless obstacle because "they lack the web of organizations and social practices that have allowed specific groups to utilize traditional culture to help children achieve" (*Ibid.*: 57). Over generations, class and socio-economic status create networks that consolidate the accumulation of economic resources and financial advantages (Grant, 2005). It has been argued that such "cumulative advantages" enhance children's educational outcomes (*Ibid.*). Thus, some researchers emphasize the role of "social capital" in their explanation of achievement differences between rich and poor students (Gibson and Bejínez, 2002; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995). Social capital refers to the students' access to the social relationships and resources they need to be successful within a context of unequal economic and power relations (Gibson and Bejínez, 2002).

> Students from middle and upper class households, whose parents are college educated, not only have greater access to but also greater ability to draw from the kinds of social relationships that facilitate academic success than do children raised in less affluent surroundings (*Ibid.*: 157).

Thus, because immigrants are excluded from mainstream networks and practices, some theorist think that it is important that they create their own support systems. In tandem with this proposition, from a Critical Race Theory approach, Villalpando (2003) analyzes the findings of a longitudinal study of Chicana/o college students that involved 200

Chicana/o and 200 White college students from 40 universities across the United States. This researcher criticizes the racial barriers institutionalized by universities and, contrary to the "racial balkanization myth" (619), finds that Chicana/o college students benefit from association with their Chicana/o peers. He also emphasizes that race and racism are essential characteristics of U.S. society, but they also intersect with other identity determinants such as language, gender, and class (*Ibid.*). In order to complement the analysis, Villalpando (2003) utilizes the "counterstorytelling method" to tell the stories of two undergraduate students and a college professor of Chicana/o origin. Through the counterstories, and the data that emerged from his research, he reveals important themes that converge with other research, namely: the need to maintain a strong critical Chicana/o cultural consciousness; students' dependence on spirituality; students' strong commitment to Chicana/o communities; influence of language on students' lives; and the influence of family (*Idem.*: 639-640).

In another CRT study, Arizona State University professor Holguín-Cuádraz (2006) explores the life histories of three narrators of Mexican origin who enrolled in doctoral programs at UC Berkeley. She analyzes these narratives from different interpretive perspectives and finds that educational achievement by people of Mexican descent is conditioned by what she calls "a politics of exceptionality" (83). Holguín-Cuádraz points out that high academic achievement is not considered typical of students of Mexican origin; thus, people who achieve are seen as exceptions to the supposed meritocracy. She also criticizes social policies that attempt to improve educational achievement, but remain focused on the individual and not on institutional structures. From her interviews, Holguín-Cuádraz infers that there is a rich and varied cultural legacy in which the narrators' stories are inscribed. This legacy should not be ignored, "but rather acknowledged and utilized, as in the tradition of borderlands and critical race theorists, to illuminate the process by which these individuals and/or their families relate to and pursue their schooling" (104).

Sarther (2006) has explored the experiences of seventeen first-generation, Mexican American female students (ages 18 to 25) in a community college. Through semi-structured interviews, she analyzes the participants' narratives, their experiences, and future plans. One of the foci of her analysis is the influential constructs of society and history, where the issues of racism, ethnicism, and gender are crucial. The influences of racism and ethnicism are analyzed in the context of the participants' personal experiences.

Sarther argues that, living in the United States "illegally" and taking English as Second Language (ESL) classes have influenced the participants' ethnic identity. Many of the participants in this study had developed an ethic of caring and justice to help others in similar circumstances and to correct the inequities experienced as Mexicans. This sense of purpose was a powerful motivator for academic achievement. Furthermore, Sarther found that, while "the student development literature recognizes the college years as a time of exploration," the participants in her study were "generally more focused on getting through school, not in engaging in new experiences" (318). With regard to class and race, she found that some participants were able to give up their ethnicity in order to succeed in certain social worlds. "Others, because of their physical characteristics, or characteristics related to being poor like the look of their old cars," were not able to do so (337-338). She concludes that racism has a "profound impact" on people of Mexican origin in the United States (*Ibid.*).

Ponce (2002) conducted research on the high academic achievement of Chicana and Chicano doctoral graduates who earned their Ph.D.s prior to 1965, before affirmative action legislation was enacted. Her study explored the academic experiences of 20 Chicana/o "Pioneers" and how they advanced and succeeded in the U.S. educational system. Most of the participants came from traditional Mexican, Spanish-speaking families with low incomes and nearly all of them expressed having experienced racism during their educational experiences. They were able to overcome racial adversity and achieve educational success by their "resilience, integrity, and belief in self." An interesting finding was that nearly three quarters of the participants in the study resembled Anglo characteristics (fair skin color) and all express awareness regarding the privileges that their physical appearance provided in certain circumstances. Thus, the stories in Ponce's research reinforce other studies on phenotypes and life chances in the U.S. that have found a correlation between academic and socioeconomic achievement and physical appearance (Arce et al., 1987; Holleran, 2003; Murgia et al., 1996). Murguia et al. (1996), for example, found that skin color and physical features have an effect on educational achievement among Mexican-Americans. With data from the 1979 National Chicano Survey, they found that Mexican-Americans with European looking features had about 1.5 years more of schooling than the darker and the more indigenous looking majority (*Ibid.*) Ponce (2002), however, concludes that racism appeared "to serve as a catalyst" in making the successful students in her study want to achieve (201).

Duncan-Andrade (2005) argues that a history of discrimination affects Chicano's perceptions of schooling. He analyzes the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo as a historical counter-narrative of colonialism and argues that, although circumstances evolve, some fundamental aspects of a colonial relationship continue to exist. The destructive impact of dominant narratives, Duncan-Andrade claims, affect the academic performance of Chicano youth. His research supports the premise set forth by other researchers (Elenes, (2002; Valencia, 2002; Valencia and Solorzano, 1997) that, for educational reform to promote Chicano achievement, it must abandon pedagogical approaches that propagate dominant cultural ideologies and attribute blame for failure to perceived deficiencies (deficit thinking) in Chicano culture. Elenes (2002) specifically refers to the border culture and advocates a "border pedagogy," critiquing the limited access to non-racist institutional "spaces" and educational empowerment for the linguistically diverse Chicano-Mexicano communities. She criticizes the illogical spaces of belonging and non-belonging that have been created for Chicanos and Chicanas. From a similar perspective, Duncan-Andrade (2005) recommends the creation of a caring academic environment through the use of a critical pedagogy that empowers students and provides them with a sense of cultural pride, purpose, and positive identity.

## Immigrant Origin: "No Migratory Children Wanted Here"[30]

The literature on higher education of immigrants of Mexican origin is very limited. A report by the Pew Hispanic Center in 2002 (Lowell and Suro, 2002) revealed that fewer immigrant *Latinos*[31] than natives have completed college. However, the report also pointed out that the number of young immigrant Latinos who come to the United States and go to school here is growing. This growing segment of the immigrant Latino population has a better educational profile than immigrants who are educated in their

[30] In the first decades of the twentieth century, children of immigrant farm workers in California could go, if they were lucky, to special "migratory schools." In violation of state laws on the required number of attendance hours, immigrant children only attended school in the morning and then joined their parents in the hard work of fields. In some schools, immigrant children were denied all forms of education; signs reading "No Migratory Children Wanted Here" were posted on some Californian schools (Aman, 2005). In 2006, Arizona voters passed a law prohibiting undocumented immigrant students from getting state-funded scholarships, tuition and fee waivers and other financial assistance. The new law denies undocumented immigrants "in-state" college tuition, even if they have resided in Arizona all of their lives. This means that the cost of attending higher education is inaccessible for the great majority of them (Billeaud, 2007).

[31] The term *Latino*, preferred by these researchers, has the same connotation utilized by the U.S. Census Bureau, which uses the term as synonymous of *Hispanic*. Please see footnote 8 and Appendix A for a more complete explanation.

countries of origin (*Ibid.*). In a study by Fry (2002), native-born Latino high school graduates enroll in college at a higher rate than their immigrant counterparts. This is not surprising in Arizona, where anti-immigrant legislation has made higher education financially inaccessible to undocumented students and legal immigrants are affected by this hostile environment. Immigrants are far more likely to enroll in community colleges than any other group (Fry, 2002). This is not surprising either, since community colleges often enroll "the neediest students, the most academically underprepared, and the economically disenfranchised" (Hebel, quoted by Perin and Charron, 2006: 155). What is startling in Fry's (2002) findings is that about 10 percent of all Latino high school graduates enroll in some form of college, compared to seven percent of the total population of high school graduates. However, Latinos lag behind every other group in attaining college degrees, thus their college dropout rate is extremely high.

Alvarez-McHatton *et al.* (2006) studied the characteristics of 57 students from migrant farmworker families who were successfully attending a four-year university. Very often, the need to work in order to help their poor family incomes, their high mobility, and a myriad obstacles force migrant students to leave school. Among adult farmworkers in the United States, only about 15% have completed high school or more (26). In spite of their high risk of academic failure, many of these students finish high school and make it into higher education. The researchers found "a strong sense of determination and self-reliance on the part of these students as well as the strong role of families played in their decision to pursue higher education" (*Ibid.*: 25). Mothers, predominantly, were credited by participants as their main source of inspiration. Among other recommendations, the researchers advise continuous efforts "addressing systemic and institutional discrimination to ensure equitable access to a high quality education for all our students" (38).

Also through in-depth interviewing research, Bohon *et al.* (2005) have explored the educational experiences of new *Latino* immigrants in the state of Georgia, where immigration from Mexico has grown tremendously after the 1990s. The State of Georgia, like the State of Arizona, consistently ranks low in most educational measures (*Ibid.*). The interviews in this study included 68 participants from the public and private sector who work with Latinos, but the research focused mainly on the responses of eleven participants who work directly in education. The researchers identified six barriers to educational achievement of immigrant *Latino* students: 1) lack of understanding of the

U.S. school system, 2) low parental involvement in the schools, 3) lack of residential stability among the Latino population, 4) little school support for the needs of Latino students, 5) few incentives for the continuation of Latino education, and 6) barred immigrant access to higher education. Furthermore, this research confirms the importance of an educational environment where immigrants can find role models, counselors and administrators properly trained to educate Hispanic students. Finally, the researchers conclude that the educational barriers experienced by Latino immigrants are due to the reproduction of ethnic stratification. "Additionally, the social inequalities present within race and ethnicity, class, and gender categories continuously intersect, compounding the disadvantages felt by the Latino population" (56).

In a different study conducted in California, Gibson and Bejínez (2002) found that, despite the high risk of failure, students of Mexican origin from migrant farmworker families persevere in school in significantly higher numbers than native classmates of Mexican origin. The research focused on 105 migrant students, considered the most vulnerable and disadvantaged among all immigrants. Generally, these students have special education needs related to their families' mobility, since many follow the crops seasonally. Many of them live below the poverty level and they "often have high levels of absenteeism, due to family and work responsibilities, as well as to migration" (156). Other impediments of academic achievement "emerge from the structure of school programs, from their interactions with mainstream classmates, and with their relationships with teaches and other members of the school staff" (*Ibid.*). The explanation for the unexpected finding of high perseverance of these immigrant students is the academic and social support provided to migrant students by the Migrant Education Program (MEP) established by the federal government in 1966. The MEP also sponsors the Migrant Student Association, an inclusive student-run club with a large membership and a good reputation for student engagement. In contrast with the lack of institutional support found by the research conducted in Georgia by Bohon *et al.* (2005), the research by Gibson and Bejínez (2002) corroborates that the implementation of support systems like the MEP for students at risk can significantly promote academic achievement.

From a similar approach, the Hillsboro school district in the State of Oregon also has implemented a federally financed migrant program to help families meet basic needs so immigrant children are more likely to attend school. Most immigrant students in this region come from poor farm families in *Mexico* who have moved to the countryside of

Oregon seeking the backbreaking work of picking berries, cucumbers, or grapes (Zehr, 2002). Many of them come from the Mexican states of Oaxaca and Michoacán and are of indigenous origin. School officials have noted that the discrimination that indigenous Mexicans face in their own country continue when they reach Oregon, where other Mexican immigrants tend to look down upon them. Because of this, the poorest Indian immigrants tend to stay in the 21 migrant-labor camps in the district. Thus, under the federal Migrant Education Program, Hillsboro home-school consultants visit the migrant camps and the homes of immigrants to assure the families that their children are entitled to a free, public education in the United States, even if they are undocumented (*Ibid.*). The school consultants accompany Spanish-speaking parents to school meetings and help them understand the system and, in many cases, they become advocates of immigrant students. The rationale behind these programs is that the creation of caring environments can be an antidote for academic attrition, even for the highest risk immigrant students (Alvarez-McHatton et al., 2006; Gibson and Bejínez, 2002).

Gibson (2003) further explores the factors that contribute to the academic achievement of high-school migrant students in a California school. She notes migrant children are among the most disadvantaged in the country due to the combined effects of poverty, malnutrition, deficient health care, and high absenteeism from school. The author utilized qualitative and quantitative methods to follow the school performance of 160 migrant students from 9th through 12th grades. She implemented participant observation, student surveys, and interviews with students, teachers, and the Migrant Education Program (MEP) staff. She gathered data on students' grades, their academic progress, and college preparatory courses completed. Gibson (2003) emphasizes that a sense of belonging in school seems to be an essential factor for the motivation, participation, and academic achievement of immigrant students. The creation of such sense of belonging was promoted through school and community activities developed by the Migrant Student Association (MSA). Moreover, this study found that caring relationships between migrant staff, educators, and students are essential in promoting academic success. Migrant educators can more easily understand this student population and can build and maintain friendly relationships with the students. Furthermore, institutional and academic support were synergistically reinforced by services such as constant academic guidance, after-school tutoring, placements in paid after-school jobs, ongoing advocacy and mentoring, connections to other school resources, and others.

From another perspective, White and Glick (2000) have found that Mexican immigrant students who arrive in the United States as adolescents are more likely than those who arrive earlier or those born from immigrant parents to persevere in high school. In spite of lower previous academic achievement and lower levels of "human capital," these immigrant students tend to graduate. However, once they graduate, they are no more likely to engage in additional educational goals than other students. For immigrants who leave school early, socioeconomic status and language background determine many of the activities they pursue. Glick and White (2003) have also found that structural background and family support, such as parental involvement and parental expectations, translate into differential participation in post-secondary education by first- and second-generation youth from different racial and ethnic groups. According to their study (2003), longitudinal data from the 1988–1994 panels of the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) reveal that the vast majority of immigrant parents expect their children to go to college or beyond (Please see section on *Family and Parental Involvement* below). Additionally, they found that immigrant and second-generation youth are more likely than their third or higher generation peers to complete secondary school and go on to post-secondary education (*Ibid.*).

Finally, the notion of deficit thinking merits special attention when attempting to understand the educational achievement, or underachievement, of Mexican immigrants. Deficit thinking is evident in the prevalent idea that immigrants are a burden or a threat to society (Buchanan 2002/2006; Huntington, 2004a/b; Tancredo, 2006). In a subtle form of deficit thinking, conventional wisdom in the U.S. assumes that, in order to progress, immigrants need to learn how to "become American" and overcome their deficits with respect to the new language and culture (Rumbaut, 1997). Therefore, deficit thinking is not just an individual problem, but a structural and societal one (Shields, 2004). Thus, if educational institutions are a reflection of society, educational practices and assumptions emerging from the deficit thinking paradigm can further affect Mexican immigrant students who are linguistically and culturally different. From this approach, educational bureaucracies frequently attempt to "fix" underperforming students, placing the blame on them, their families, and their cultures (Weiner, 2006). Such deficit thinking prevents any real institutional change and tends to ignore the "social ecology" of the school and classroom (Ibid.).

From a critical perspective, Shields (2004) reproves institutionalized deficit thinking and its "pathologies of silence." She argues that such pathologies "are misguided attempts to act justly, to display empathy, and to create democratic and optimistic educational communities" (117). She also criticizes liberal multiculturalists who believe differences are unimportant, since we are all part of a single human race. Shields notes that children with family cultures that diverge the most from their social and organizational school structures tend to be the least successful in the U.S. educational systems. She proposes to replace deficit thinking with deep and meaningful relationships with students. This, Shields argues, is the best way to overcome our pathologies of silence about differences, including those of ethnicity and class (*Ibid.*). Similarly, Rumbaut (1997) argues that ethnocentric assumptions and orthodox expectations about immigrants' self-identity and education must be debunked. What immigrants most need is the opportunity to openly participate and contribute to society, not by the suppression of old memories, but by their incorporation into common life (E. Park and E.W. Burgess, quoted by Rumbaut, 1997).

Specifically regarding undocumented Mexican immigrants, cutting them off the receipt of social services and education, like the Arizona legislature increasingly attempts, will be counterproductive to U.S. society (Massey and Espinosa, 1997). Such measures will not produce a reduction in the size of the undocumented population, but will create an underclass of excluded residents "disconnected from the rest of society–unhealthy, poorly educated, with little stake in the future of the country, its government, or its way of life" (Ibid.: 992). Recent research in human geography also warns that the current demographic and economic trends indicate that a Mexican-American underclass might be forming (Allen, 2006). This situation, in turn, will perpetuate the pathologies of silence and the deficit thinking that facilitate colonization, oppression, and institutional racism.

## Family and Parental involvement: "Those Mexican parents don't care at all..."[32]

Parental influence appears to be of great importance in the motivations and inspiration of students of Mexican origin,. This factor seems to be as essential for students in elementary education as for those in college, whether they are immigrants or they have

[32] The phrase is quoted by Z. Cline (2001) in an analysis where she recalls conversations with school principals. She reflects on her divergent views, influenced by her poor immigrant childhood experiences. Cline concludes that it is in the telling of her story that she can begin to understand herself and make sense of the community of which she is a part (*Ibid.*).

been in the U.S. for many generations (Bohon *et al.*, 2005; Ramirez, 2003; Valencia, 2002). In different research studies, parents and family are consistently identified as essential sources of support and encouragement promoting educational achievement in students of Mexican origin (Alberta, 2005; Alvarez-McHatton *et al.*, 2006; Bohon *et al.*, 2005; Gándara, 1995). In a study on the effect of mentoring on the career aspirations of Mexican-origin high school students, Flores and Obasi (2005) found that 78% of them identified parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, or other family members as mentors. They also found that, "as in previous studies, mothers are highly influential in Mexican American students' lives" (159). Other research suggests that racial and gender similarities among the mentors and the mentees can lead to favorable outcomes (Ensher and Murphy, 1997). Hence, the importance of family role models is clear, but the role of educational administrators, faculty, and staff of Mexican/Hispanic origin who interact with families and students should not be ignored.

Different studies show that minority students from disadvantaged backgrounds and single-parent families are more likely than their mainstream counterparts to leave school (McGlynn, 1999; Warren, 1996). The many obstacles these parents face in being involved in their children's educational development contribute to their children's failure. Additionally, as noted by Segal and Kilty (2003), there is "a significant historical correlation" between race, ethnicity and poverty (55). Thus, in the case of parents of Mexican origin, the compounding effects of poverty, castification, and **racial hegemony*** intensify the challenges they face. However, in situations when they are not involved in their children's educational affairs, it does not necessarily mean they do not care about their children's education (McCollum, 1998; Shannon and Latimer, 1996; Valencia, 2002). Shannon and Latimer (1996) have concluded that, while most parents of Mexican origin have a high regard for education and teachers, many do not believe they can provide any significant input. If parents appear not to be interested, it may be because of their self-perception of educational limitations. Shannon and Latimer's research also found that Mexican parents who are first or second generation in the U.S. may not even be aware that educators in this country expect parental involvement (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, as Bohon *et al.* (2005) have found, language barriers make it difficult for immigrant parents to communicate with teachers and administrators.

---

* Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

Glick and White's (2004) study of post-secondary school participation of immigrant and native youth found that students whose parents have high expectations are more likely to graduate from high school and enroll in college than students with parents holding lower expectations, "even in the face of controls for previous academic performance and family resources". Significantly, they also found that parents of immigrant students express higher expectations for their children than U.S.-born minorities of the third and later generations (*Ibid.*). The high aspirations of some immigrant parents may be related to studies that show that a strong relationship exists between high parental expectations and academic achievement, explained as the result of the intense motivation encouraged by these parents and, consequently, the adjustment of the child to such expectations (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). An earlier study by Stanton-Salazar (1997), also found that some immigrants may achieve higher educational levels than their native peers thanks to family environments that tenaciously nourish academic achievement with high expectations, school involvement, and communication with children regarding school-related issues.

The connection between parental expectations and academically successful students of Mexican immigrant origin has been studied in a doctoral dissertation by Montoya (2006). In her study of five families, she explores the characteristics of parental involvement that helped their children graduate from a university. As in this thesis, Montoya utilized in-depth interviewing as a research method. The immigrant parents in her study came from relatively advantageous backgrounds: they owned their homes when their children were young, they had very stable jobs, they did not allow their children to work during high school, and helped them financially while in college. Moreover, the immigrant parents in Montoya's study "were in constant communication with the school" and they were part of their children's support networks during their college years. Other research shows that these are precisely the structural characteristics that encourage students to enroll in college (Thompson et al., 1988). However, in most Mexican immigrant families, low parental education, poverty, and single-parent structures hinder educational achievement by shaping the surrounding opportunities available to students (*Ibid.*). Most Mexican immigrant students have high rates of poverty (Schmidt, 2003) and generally have to spend scarce resources within the family in order to go to college.

In other words, high parental expectations alone will not necessarily guarantee academic achievement. A report by the Chronicle of Higher Education (Schmidt, 2003), notes that Hispanic families are well aware of the value of education. Family surveys have shown that more than nine out of ten Hispanic parents expect their children to enroll in college.

but Hispanic children are much less likely than White children to have a parent who attended college (*Ibid.*). The dropout rates of students of Mexican origin, in particular, are "scandalously high" (Valencia, 2002: 365). Glick and White's (2004) discussion of the high academic expectations of immigrant parents also acknowledges the important role of structural variables like socioeconomic status, family structure, and language background. Additionally, they recognize the importance of parental attitudes and behaviors, such as their level of involvement in their children's education.

Very little research on parental involvement has been conducted on immigrant communities of Mexican origin. Bohon, *et al.*, (2005) and Schmidt (2003) suggest that the limited support and low parental involvement of immigrant parents in their children's schools is in part due to the poor understanding of the U.S. school system. Additionally, a mixed methods study by Grzywacz *et al.* (2005) has found that recent immigrants experience higher levels of work-family strain associated with stress and anxiety. These findings reinforce Duncan-Andrade's (2005) argument that the claims that Chicano parents are less involved with schools and/or the political process are based on shortsighted class values. Such claims "fail to understand economic limitations requiring a parent(s) to work multiple jobs, or shifts, differing from the middle class cultural norms of 9 to 5" (584). Additionally, a case study by Espinoza-Herold (2007) challenges the idea that working-class immigrant families do not care about the education of their children. Her research links Mexican oral traditions to the resilience and motivation that counter the lack resources and knowledge to guide their children in an unknown educational system (*Idem.*).

Finally, Ramirez (2003) interviewed immigrant parents of Mexican origin in a community with strong Latino roots in California. He found that immigrant parents believed the schools are not interested in listening to their input. The parents expressed a strong interest in being part of their children's education, but schools were not conducive to their involvement. They could not find interpreters to help them communicate with school officials, teachers would not be available or able to speak with them, and they received no communication from schools when their children were in need of academic support. The parents interviewed by Ramirez felt excluded and frustrated because of their inability to obtain information regarding their children's education (*Ibid.*). On the other hand, Shannon and Latimer's (1996) research suggests that most parents of Mexican origin respect the teachers' professional position and fear their involvement

could be perceived as interference. Unfortunately, this view is often perceived by teachers as lack of concern for their children's education.

## Supportive and undermining environments:

### "We need people who don't just speak Spanish, but also understand Mexican culture"[33]

Parents, siblings, and other family members of students of Mexican origin are important sources of motivation in their academic success, but a supportive family environment alone might not be enough to help students persist in their academic goals (Alberta, 2005). "Latina/o student perceptions of their college environment have considerable impact on their social and academic lives" (*Ibid.*: 203). In a study by McWhirter, et al. (2007), they found that Mexican-American high-school students perceive many more barriers to college than do their White peers. The research surveyed 140 Mexican-American and 296 White students and analyzed 28 internal and external barriers. In general, Mexican-American students expect to encounter more barriers related to abilities, preparation, motivation, support, and separation from their families, than did their White counterparts. They also expected such academic obstacles to be more difficult to overcome. Finally, Mexican-American females were more likely than males to anticipate financial barriers to their college education (*Ibid.*).

Research also has found that, regardless of undermining environments, enormous barriers, and negative prognostications some students of Mexican origin achieve academic success. Gándara (1995) has observed cases of low-income Mexicans from homes with little formal education who have attained high academic achievement. Using a qualitative approach, she examined how these students became successful despite disadvantages and poverty. Her study is significant because it attempts to better understand the factors that help "Chicano" students succeed, despite the fact that they were born and raised in environments that more typically produce academic failure. She studied 50 people (20 women and 30 men), all of whom had earned Ph.D., M.D., or J.D. degrees from prestigious U.S. universities. What she found was that these people had achieved success despite the odds because of their internal drive and expression of "social self-consciousness." Additionally, Garza *et al.* (2004) have found that, when at-risk

---

[33] Comment from a migrant education specialist in a rural county in Georgia, whose school district lacks enough certified bilingual and bicultural educators to serve the growing Hispanic population (Bohon et al., 2005: 52).

students succeed academically, they develop coping strategies that become part of their personal characteristics. Such characteristics include determination, persistence, a strong work ethic, responsibility, commitment, resourcefulness, cooperation, and a sense of hope (114).

In a five year study of Hispanic students, Romo and Falbo (1997) identify diverse variables that affect students' academic progress. In an effort to motivate others to make necessary changes in schools and communities to enhance student achievement, they incorporate the voices and experiences of parents and students into their work. Their research focused on the narratives of students who graduated from high school against all odds. Their research tracked the progress of one hundred students in Austin, Texas, from 1989 to 1993. They found that the reasons students drop out of school have less to do with ethnicity and more to do with school and community environments. According to this study, Latino families and students see education as a way to improve living standards, but schools are not necessarily conducive to the achievement of this goal. In fact, many students choose to leave school because they believe it is a waste of their time (*Ibid.*). These findings are reinforced by Espinoza-Herold's (2003) research on student and teacher experiences in two urban high schools in Arizona. Her study involved in-depth interviews with two "at-risk" Mexican-American students, one of whom was an immigrant. Espinoza-Herold also surveyed 31 educators and two administrators from the interviewees' schools. She concluded that the voices of students are ignored when educational policy is made. Thus, a major disconnection exists between the official goals of educational institutions and the goals of those who are ostensibly being educated.

Romo and Falbo (1997) also argue that, despite evident civil rights gains, many of today's school policies and practices tend to undermine student motivation and participation, discourage parental involvement, and deter community involvement. These negative institutional elements have been linked to low academic achievement of students of Mexican origin (*Ibid.*). Other studies have identified specific practices contributing to low student achievement, such as tracking and ability grouping, mainstreaming, grade retention, achievement testing, the hidden curriculum, meritocracy, and teacher attitudes (Fendrich, 1983; Kao and Thompson, 2003; Ortiz, 1996; Sosa, 1993; Valencia, 2002). Valencia (2002) further argues that Chicano educational failures are not just an educational problem; thus, he advocates "deep-rooted systemic reform... in broad economic, political, cultural, and school curricular contexts" (365). Nevertheless,

research also shows that student achievement is linked to much simpler educational strategies (Romo and Falbo, 1997).

In a study by Donato and de Onis (1995), they found that a positive attitude toward students, commitment to help them succeed, and support services in general were essential to their overall achievement. Thus, Donato and de Onis recommend: hiring minority staff in leadership positions to act as role models; providing courses that do not limit students' choices or trap them in low-level curricula; offering students basic and advanced courses through bilingual and "sheltered" methods; and engaging parents in the planning of their children's academic schedules. Although this research focuses exclusively on middle school students, it confirms that helping minority students succeed involves services and attitudes beyond the instructional arena. Supporting this perspective, Valenzuela (1999) discerns how "caring" is an essential element in the schooling process and how Mexican-American students interpret, experience, and are aware of this factor. She found that schools she observed in Houston, Texas are structured to destroy student identities, while their underachievement is a form of passive resistance. Students, she argues, are divided socially, linguistically, and culturally from each other and from the staff. It can be inferred that strategic changes that nurture the students' cultural identities and a caring environment will help students succeed (*Ibid.*).

In a case study of two students of Mexican origin who graduated from Stanford University, Cabrera and Padilla (2004) found that both participants (a male and a female) attributed their success to personal motivation and support from their mothers. Furthermore, by in-depth interviewing these graduates from extremely impoverished and adverse backgrounds, the researchers found that their educational achievement was also possible because they learned the "culture of college." These students learned about college opportunities from their counselors and tutors who emphasized that they were persons of worth (*Ibid.*). Research by Salas (2003), Stewart (1998), and Tinto (1987) also support these findings and suggest that the role of student counselors and administrators is important in preparing Mexican-American students more appropriately for educational achievement in college.

Educational institutions have the power to shape their organizational cultures to create environments that promote "a share vision of success and a fundamental belief that opportunities, not barriers, exist" (Reyes *et al.*, 1999: 209). Institutions also can make a

commitment to alter "deficit thinking" in order to create "new ways of thinking" (*Ibid.*). According to Yosso (2006), deficit thinking permeates U.S. society and both educational institutions and those who work in them mirror these beliefs. Therefore, this is one of the great obstacles in the creation of educational environments that are conducive to the educational achievement of people of Mexican origin. Educational institutions driven by deficit thinking, she argues, "most often default to methods of banking education critiqued by Paulo Freire" (23). Such banking concept of education very often results in institutional practices that aim to fill up supposedly passive recipients (students) with pieces of knowledge that are regarded as legitimate by the dominant society because they perpetuate the *status quo* (*Idem.*). Therefore these practices ultimately become an instrument of oppression (Freire, 1970).

Deficit thinking, negative organizational environments, and perceived barriers by students can compound into insuperable obstacles (McWhirter, et al. 2007; Valencia, 2002). Some researchers look beyond the school environment and argue that, in order to encourage and retain at-risk youth in school, an interactive approach that combines diverse strategies and dimensions is necessary (Sanders and Sanders, 1998). To facilitate such approach, parents, educators, community members, businesses, and public and private agencies must work together in a cohesive way (*Ibid.*). Thus, Rumberger and Rodríguez (2002) remind us that "too much emphasis has been placed on 'at-risk youth' and their families, and not enough on the high risk settings in which they live and go to school" (122).

Nevertheless, the power of educational institutions should not be minimized. Institutions that disregard immigrant student's ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities generally adopt unsuccessful deficit thinking practices. According to Pearl (2002) and Valencia (2002), one of the most harmful effects of deficit thinking is that it results in unequal encouragement to succeed in the classroom, establishing different expectations that lead to different student performances. Allen (2006) goes further and argues that the children of immigrants do better in school when their educational institutions provide an environment that builds upon their cultural heritage and when they "avoid certain detrimental aspects of American culture" (27). The following section expands the discussion on the issues of acculturation and cultural preservation as they relate to the success of students of Mexican origin.

## Acculturation* and Cultural Preservation: "I speak *Spanglish* because I stay in the middle."[34]

Can cultural preservation be an obstacle in the way of educational achievement for immigrant students? Or, as Gibson (1998) has asked: When trying to promote academic success among immigrant students, "Is acculturation the issue"? Some researchers argue that people of Mexican origin are unable or unwilling to acculturate because we are a native minority that began as a conquered population in our own land, who later became an immigrant population with extensive and continuous contact with our country of origin (Hurtado, 1997; Huntington, 2004a and 2004b; Schaefer, 2005). Gibson (1998) argues that

> The children of immigrants who remain strongly anchored in their ethnic cultures and communities while also acquiring skills in the dominant language and culture generally do well in school. Most at risk are those who acculturate at a pace faster than their parents, who lose the ability to speak their parents' mother tongue, and who have no strong ties to an ethnic community that can buffer the negative forces that immigrant students from low socioeconomic status backgrounds often encounter in their peer and school worlds. The danger, thus, is not that immigrant children are not learning English fast enough, but rather that they are too rapidly losing knowledge of their parents' and grandparents' tongue and, as a result, are at risk of losing their connectedness to their parents culture and emotional support than their parents and other older members of the community can provide (629).

Other researchers have found that schools that choose to build on their students' cultural pride, history, and language have better results with these students (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991; Gibson, 1998; Romo and Fabo, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). On the other hand, students who feel they must hide parts of their cultural identity at school, or who feel

---

* Please see Appendix A: Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study.

[34] D. Luna of San Francisco State University conducted interviews with six Mexican immigrant female students who shared their educational experiences. One of the students explained that she could not really speak Spanish fluently, but felt she should be bilingual because her parents speak Spanish. The student stated: "I think I speak Spanglish because I stayed in the middle, not a lot of Spanish, not a lot of English. I can't speak Spanish in a whole sentence. I throw a couple of English words in there" (quoted in Luna, 2004: 24). Spanglish, or *Espanglish*, is a spoken hybrid of Spanish and English that Professor Ilan Stavans, from Amherst College, has codified and analyzed in Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language (2003). Stavans, a Jewish Mexican immigrant, examines the historical context of Spanglish, tracing it to the U.S. annexation of Mexican territories. His work includes a controversial Spanglish translation of the first chapter of Don Quixote and a lexicon of 4,500 words. From another perspective, Morales (2002) has referred to the "Spanglish people," arguing that the term can be used as an all-encompassing socio-cultural designation that can substitute the words Hispanic, Latino, Mexican-American and others. In this sense, to become Spanglish "is a sometimes violent, sometimes delicate rethreading of two parallel story lines, of long separated siblings and hated enemies. Becoming Spanglish is inextricably linked with history and issues of race and class..." (32).

pressured to diminish their home cultures, are likely to experience alienation at school (Gibson, 1998). In one study of acculturation of Mexican-American community college students, the researchers hypothesized that subjects of the study with the lowest levels of acculturation in the U.S. majority culture would also have the lowest level of goal-oriented competitiveness (Lucas and Stone, 1994). Nevertheless, the researchers found that the results did not support their prediction that Mexicans at higher levels of acculturation would exhibit significantly more interpersonal competitiveness. On the contrary, it was concluded that students of Mexican origin with low levels of acculturation are as competitive, if not more competitive than students from the majority culture. Similarly, Cummings (1981) and Fordham and Ogbu (1986) agree that, when students accept who they are and embrace their roots, they can confront challenges more successfully and academic achievement is more feasible.

It appears that the population of Mexican origin in the U.S. is in an unprecedented historical position. Hurtado (1997) points out that the concepts of acculturation and assimilation assume that the group who is expected to adapt to the dominant culture constitutes a numerical minority and they have very limited contact with their country of origin. She notes that, in the case of Latinos in the U.S. –most of whom are of Mexican descent–, they have become the majority in California and they have extensive contact with their countries of origin. Thus, California has become the first state in the U.S. with a "minority majority" (Wilson, 2004), while an unprecedented number of first-generation Mexican immigrants reject dominant culture values. Nevertheless, this minority majority has the highest numbers of low income students, school poverty, dropout rates, and underachievement (Orfield and Lee, 2005). Even as their numbers have increased dramatically, they continue to live in a system of internal colonialism (Martinez, 1999; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996) that disdains their culture.

Throughout their history as a minority, people of Mexican origin have had to adjust, acculturate, and assimilate into the dominant European-American cultural majority. Recently, however, one of the intellectual apologists of the anti-Mexican discourse, S. P. Huntington (2004a), has argued that the great flow of Mexican immigrants will not *assimilate* like others have done in the past. In a study with clear racist overtones, he laments that "Mexican Americans no longer think of themselves as members of a small minority who must accommodate the dominant group and adopt its culture" (44). Huntington also expresses his concern that more than 90 percent of second-generation

Mexican-Americans speak Spanish. While they also speak fluent English, he notes with alarm, they fail to reject their ancestral language. Moreover, many second- or third-generation Mexican-Americans who were brought up speaking English have learned Spanish as adults. In plain English, Huntington warns that Mexican Americans in the Southwestern United States soon will have enough power "to do what no previous immigrant group could have dreamed of doing: challenge the existing cultural, political, legal, commercial, and educational systems" (*Ibid*: 40). Strongly reinforcing the colonizer-colonized relationship, this important scholar from Harvard University explicitly concludes that the most serious challenge to America's *Anglo-Protestant* identity comes from Mexican and Latin American culture (*Ibid.*).

Many years before Huntington, research found that many Mexican parents relied on their children to interpret for them, both linguistically and culturally. Padilla (1980) observed that, "even into the fourth generation there are individuals who have not completely acculturated and who still possess some marked degree of cultural awareness and/or ethnic loyalty to their culture of origin" (75). However, according to Trueba (1993), the children learned English much faster than their parents and served as translators and negotiators for them in diverse circumstances, including legal, financial, and social situations. In the educational arena, some research suggests that low levels of parental acculturation –and education– may have a negative effect on their children's academic achievement (Stein, 1990). Similarly, a study by Castillo *et al.* (2004) suggests that comfort with dominant cultural values and perceived support from family, including support for such values, are related to lower perceived distress in some college students. However, in a life-history study by Shannon (1996), she reveals the story of a Mexican-American mother who narrates how she adapts to mainstream practices of parental involvement, while preserving her own Mexican ways of parenting. This research exposes different challenges the narrator faces, such as the teacher's resistance to the mother's intervention in school and the absence of culturally sensitive mediation between the school and the mother (*Ibid.*). In tandem, Nieto (1996) claims that, when students themselves resist assimilation and preserve their culture and language, they are more academically successful. Cultural preservation, even if the student faces cultural conflicts, may eventually have a positive effect on academic achievement (*Ibid.*).

Gecas (1974) investigated the self-conceptions of Mexican immigrants and "settled" Mexican-Americans. He found that immigrants were more firmly attached to cultural

identity structures like family, religion, and ethnicity than were Americans of Mexican origin. This was interpreted as a consequence of acculturation, which is probably higher for Americans of Mexican origin than immigrants. Additionally there was a very significant finding in this study regarding the self-conceptions of these two groups: immigrants had a more positive view of themselves than did Americans of Mexican origin with regard to self-esteem, sense of moral worth, competence, self-determination and altruism. Finch *et al.* (2000) discovered equally surprising findings after surveying 3,012 people of Mexican origin, ages 18-59, in Fresno, California between 1995 and 1996. Their purpose was to find the relationship between perceived discrimination, acculturative stress, and mental health among adults of Mexican origin. They found that discrimination was directly related to depression and, more significantly, that less acculturated immigrants did not suffer discrimination as often as their more acculturated counterparts.

In a study that contradicts Huntington's arguments, Alba *et al.* (2002) have found strong evidence of language assimilation among people of Mexican origin. Language is a major indicator of adaptation to mainstream culture and, according to this research, two thirds of third generation Mexican Americans do not speak any Spanish. This appears to follow a traditional model of language assimilation where the immigrant generation makes some progress, but mainly uses its native tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third generation speaks only English (*Ibid.*). Nevertheless, in a study of children of Mexican immigrants, St-Hilaire (2002) has found that fluent bilingualism in Spanish and English is positively associated with educational aspirations and expectations. This research also found that the great majority of students of Mexican origin value education as a superior means of socioeconomic advancement. However, as they become assimilated, measured by length of residency in the U.S., they tend to aspire to lower levels of education. Furthermore, the author argues that immigrants who deliberately preserve their native culture and maintain solidarity within their ethnic community in the United States make rapid socioeconomic progress. Thus, for these immigrants full assimilation to mainstream cultural norms is not necessary to achieve upward mobility, as it was for immigrants in earlier decades (St-Hilaire, 2001/2002).

There are many students who have succeeded within the framework of assimilation. Most have chosen to go along with mainstream values and programs in order to succeed. Because of the amount of confrontation involved in battling the system, they have –at

least superficially– denied their culture in order to fit in and to be accepted. As in Kornblum's (1994) perspective, these students believe that assimilation is the only way to gain equal status in mainstream social groups and institutions. Assimilation, however, entails frictions within their own cultural group. Sometimes, these students are accused of "acting White," and they are treated as outsiders by members of their own group because they are thought to be disloyal (Gibson and Ogbu, 1991). Their dilemma is that if they are successful in the dominant world, they may be rejected by their culture of origin. Thus, when we hear educators and policymakers claim that assimilation is the only way to ensure the educational achievement of minorities; we suggest they step back and reexamine this philosophy. Instead of attempting to erase the culture and language of these students, perhaps schools could encourage the uniqueness of every culture and language as a foundation for their academic success.

## Concluding thoughts

Academic failure in students of Mexican origin has been explained by a multitude of factors, including "deficit thinking," that places the causes of failure on individuals, families, and cultures (Valencia and Solorzano, 1997) and, consequently, blaming the victims of unjust socioeconomic and political structures. Certainly, many of the challenges discussed in this section can be interconnected with the negative effects of deficit thinking. Nevertheless, not much is known about students who have succeeded in spite of such challenges (Garza et al., 2004). As the literature review shows, research on immigrant students who have been successful in higher education is practically nonexistent, particularly in the case of undocumented students. Very little is known about the experiences of Mexican immigrants in higher education and the influences that have helped them succeed. More research is needed about students of Mexican origin who, in spite of great obstacles –like having an undocumented immigration status– and racial adversity have achieved educational success. The history and voices of this under-researched, but vast and complex, minority must be heard if we want the multicultural society of the future to be functional.

As a colonized community, Mexican immigrants face great challenges that must be overcome in order to attain educational achievement and greater socioeconomic mobility. However, there is also some evidence that, as Mexican immigration grows and Americans of Mexican origin multiply, educational success and economic prosperity

appear to be more feasible without full assimilation (Andrade, 1998). At the same time, it is clear that students of Mexican descent have unique and complex educational needs which must be met to ensure academic success. Meanwhile, the failures of Mexican-American schooling are blamed on a large number of reasons, but school dropout rates continue to be dramatically high and students of Mexican origin enroll in higher education in disproportionately low numbers (Valencia, 2002). Consequently, researchers propose that educators, parents, and communities need to discover new ways to keep Mexican and Mexican-American students in school (Berlinger and Biddle, 1995; Sanders and Sanders, 1998; Shields, 2004; Valencia, 2002; Valencia and Solorzano, 1997). This study proposes that, by determining what successful Mexican immigrants have to say about their educational achievement, we oppose the "pathologies of silence" deplored by Shields (2004), as we achieve a step in the right direction.

Some research shows that, contrary to other minorities and immigrant groups, great numbers of people of Mexican origin have not been fully assimilated into the dominant U.S. culture and continue to speak Spanish (Huntington, 2004a/b; Perea, 1992). A great number of them live outside of mainstream society and have low educational attainment (García, 1999; Stein, 1990). A cultural disparity between their values and the values of the dominant society appears to contribute to this phenomenon. Mexican immigrants in particular seem to be more attached to their cultures of origin than second or third generations (St-Hilaire, 2001/2002). Nevertheless, the literature shows that the reasons Mexican students drop out of school may have more to do with institutions and structures than with the students themselves. Undocumented immigrants' main obstacle is not their attachment to divergent cultural values, but structural, legal, and institutional constraints imbued with racial prejudice (Bendersky, 1995; Haney López, 2001; Kay-Oliphant, 2005; Wright, 2005). Thus, as unintentional, *de facto,* and *de jure* racisms persist in the quotidian lives of people of Mexican origin, new research will need to explore beyond official memory and institutional structures. This research strives to hear the voices of those who have succeeded in spite of great obstacles, defeating the odds and preserving their cultural identity. The following section explains the methodology to achieve such objective.

# METHODOLOGY

> ...the historical, political, cultural, and economic conditions of each context present new methodological and tactical requirements, so that it is always necessary to search for the actualization of the substantivity of ideas with every new situation (Freire, 1997: 316).

## Critical Race Theory as a Unifying Framework

Critical Race Theory (CRT) serves as the methodological framework for this study. The theory can trace its origins to the late seventies, post-Civil Rights Movement, when scholars, social leaders, and activists continued to address racism and social injustice in the U.S. (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Villenas and Dehyhle, 1999). At the time, law students and professors began discussions and actions to promote social awareness and the elimination of racial discrimination through new legislation (*Ibid.*). Thus, consistent with the tradition of preceding critical theorists, CRT emerged as a new "attempt to understand the oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation" (Tierney, 1993, referring to critical theory: 4). Mills (2003) argues that old critical theorists should become critical race theorists "and should recognize in their work the historic and differential importance of race in the modern world in general, and in the United States in particular" (174).

Villenas and Dehyhle (1999) see CRT as an analytical tool that can be utilized "to understand how the subordination and marginalization of people of color is created and maintained in the United States" (413). Gillborn (2006) observes that "CRT is not so much a theory as a perspective" (19). Such perspective contains a set of premises about the centrality of racism and its operation in Western societies. It also "involves a critical perspective on the nature of US politics and society" (*Ibid.*: 21). CRT focuses on social inequalities arising through race and racism, both seen as central factors in understanding power relations, subordination, and discrimination. In the educational arena, CRT allows students and educators to examine how schools fail students through various forms of racism and *castification* (see Definition of Terms).

The inspiration behind the decision to utilize the CRT approach was Paulo Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy, which deliberately develops *critical consciousness*, allowing people to question the nature of their historical and social circumstances. Freire stresses that, "As educators, we are politicians" (quoted in Finlay and Smith, 1991: 53). Critical

pedagogues believe that "Knowing is not a neutral activity; therefore, education is never neutral" (*Idem*). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) paraphrase Freire with a stronger language arguing that, "when we attempt to remain neutral, like many churches in Nazi Germany, we support the prevailing power structure" (103). Thus, CRT is not a neutral approach and, as critical pedagogy, it employs the non-neutral premises of terms like "class," "otherness," "race," "colonization," "castification," and others. This allows researchers, educators, community members, and parents to critically examine the success or failure of students of Mexican origin within the social constructions of Hispanic/Latino/Chicano/Mexican as "other." "Otherness" refers to the status that people of Mexican origin are constructed into the United States, as an inferior "other," even as a criminal "other" (Salas, 2003).[35] Consciously and unconsciously, explicitly and implicitly, this rationale is embedded in the xenophobic culture that thrives in the dominant U.S. society (Rivera, 2006; Villenas and Deyhle, 1999).

CRT has been utilized to challenge the existing social order in different ways, including:

- exposing how racism continues to benefit the privileged classes and disadvantage minorities and people of color;
- criticizing the notion that significant social change can occur without radical transformation to social structures;
- arguing that civil rights legislation, rather than reducing the effects of racism, has mainly benefited the dominant society; and
- utilizing storytelling (or "counter-storytelling" and "counter-history") as a means to legitimize and support the voices of racial minorities, incorporating their experiential knowledge into the critiques of the dominant social order (Nebeker, 1998).

This research focuses on the latter objective. It emphasizes that counter-history, like official history, is not about facts, but about cultural and collective memory. Narratives and counter-narratives are shaped by intricate contexts and by those who tell the story. Thus, what a community believes its history to be can be more important than "facts" in

---

[35] Under recent immigration laws, undocumented workers have been criminalized and can be sent to jail if caught working "illegally" for a second time. Commonly, through racial profiling and discriminatory targeting, both documented and undocumented people of Mexican origin are harassed by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) enforcement operations in the Southwestern U.S. (Delgado, 2006; Romero, 2006). Ultimately, these policies reinforce the creation of an underclass that, paradoxically, is badly needed by the U.S. economy. The USCIS, formerly known as the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), is now a bureau of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The DHS has three primary missions: "Prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage from potential attacks and natural disasters" (DHS website).

relation to the lived experiences of that culture. In this sense, what matters about a particular narrative is the meaning it gives to the collective subjectivities and identities of a particular people at a particular time (Friedman, 1992).

As a conceptual instrument, the CRT approach in this research incorporates all generations of people sharing a Mexican ancestry in the U.S. (Chicanos, Latinos, Hispanics, Mexicans, and Mexican-Americans) into a single analytical cluster. Such a conceptual reference allows a coherent understanding of this diverse group of people as a colonized community. In the educational arena, this critical perspective can be utilized to explain and understand crucial issues like biased curricula and history, intelligence and achievement gaps, tracking, and hierarchy (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Love, 2004). Therefore, it is important to emphasize that, from the CRT perspective, "race" is a socio-historical term and that,

> despite the scientific refutation of race as a legitimate biological concept and attempts to marginalize race in much of the public, political discourse, race continues to be a powerful social construct and signifier (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 8).

In other words, although race is a socially constructed idea, it has real impacts on real people who do not always understand the extensive implications of their "otherness." Holleran (2003) illustrates such implications by pointing to numerous studies that show "significant differences in life chances by phenotype for Mexican Americans" (352). This means that individuals with "European features" tend to do better with respect to income, perceived discrimination, education, and other categories than people with darker complexion and "Indian features" (*Idem*). To complete the vicious circle, there is strong direct association between social class and educational achievement, where the higher a student's social class, the greater their average educational achievements (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000). Therefore, knowledge of concepts emanated from CRT and other forms of *conscientization*[36] are in themselves empowering because knowledge promotes self-determination. Villenas and Deyhle (1999) argue that critical ethnographic studies have proven that communities, families, and individuals armed with this knowledge can effectively resist castification by reclaiming their language and cultural identities. Thus, by working together, parents and students of Mexican origin are able to

---

[36] Freire (1970) has used the terms "Conscientization" and "Critical Awareness" to refer to: "...reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (33). Please also see Appendix A for an expanded definition.

create "counter-hegemonic narratives of dignity and ethnic pride" (*Ibid.*: 437). In collectively creating such counter-history, immigrant children and adults are able to survive the violence[37] of a "xenophobic nation" (*Idem*).

CRT can go beyond the explanation of the negative ramifications of overt racism and xenophobia based on human phenotypes and class prejudice. CRT also seeks a more profound understanding of the socio-historical context of the colonizer-colonized/oppressor-oppressed relationships. Critical race theorists look for answers to the needs of those people who are marginalized in society through colonization and rejection, and they also imagine an ideal world with different socio-political structures, institutions, values, and practices (Matsuda, *et al.*, 1993). Their work involves a dialectical process, where intellectual and political actions are continually nourished by active resistance (*Ibid.*). The creation of new values and socio-political structures, however, is extremely difficult because the difference between colonizers and the colonized is blurred by acculturation and assimilation (Freire, 1970). The oppressed, in an effort to be accepted by the dominant group, becomes the oppressor. Frequently, they are both at the same time (*Ibid.*). The victims internalize the consciousness of the victimizers and, as is the case of people of Mexican origin, they have to contend with internalized dominant cultural values.[38] Therefore, some theorists emphasize the link between CRT, empowerment, and praxis, requiring that CRT research incorporate a component of engagement that aims at social change (Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba, 1991).

Racism is continually revealed in *de facto* and *de jure* castification and marginalization of immigrants and residents of Mexican origin. In the November 2006 U.S. elections, the passing of legislation that maintains and propagates such castification was intensified in the state of Arizona. The state voters approved several propositions that limited the rights of undocumented immigrants including: requiring all official business to be conducted only in English, therefore limiting immigrants' access to public services; prohibiting bail for those who commit felonies; restricting access to state-subsidized adult education and child care programs; and, incredibly, banning immigrants from receiving punitive

---

[37] Nelson Mandela has notably referred to "the violence of poverty" (quoted by Toh, 2004: 25). At the same time, Cahill (2004) has pointed out "the violence" of stereotypes on the lives of racialized minorities.

[38] From a similar perspective, García (2004) points out that racist actions do not have to be directed to those who are different. Sometimes, "the racist is a person who internalizes the vicious attitudes others feel for her... coming to despise herself and those assigned to the same race as she is" (42).

damages in civil lawsuits (Archibold, 2006). Similarly throughout the country –though less successful than in Arizona–, anti-immigrant and racist politicians have masked their campaign discourses with the language of national security, stability, equity, and meritorious individual achievement. CRT demands full awareness of how racist ideologies create laws that are utilized against minorities and how the law and social action can also be utilized for racial and class struggles (Yamamoto, 1997).

In the educational arena, Mexican-American/Chicano/Hispanic ethnographies and "counter-storytelling" show that racism is evident in the numerous ways in which schools fail students (Andrade, 1998; Auerbach, 2002; Cabrera and Padilla, 2004; Holguín-Cuádraz, 2006; Solorzano and Yosso, 2001). Very frequently, schools in the United States send a message to minority students that they are inferior. Critical race theorists believe that, when internalized, this message of inferiority denies the victims citizenship and opportunity because of their state of doubt and helplessness (Villenas and Deyhle, 1999). For example, although extensive research supports the advantages of bilingual education, bilingual programs in Arizona, California, and Texas are being dismantled sending an implicit message of cultural inferiority to Spanish speaking students and parents. These actions attempt "the fortification of monolingualism and monoculturalism against a 'brown' cultural and linguistic 'invasion'" (*Ibid.*: 414). Utilizing a CRT interpretive perspective provides a theoretical framework that critically explains how 'White' supremacy and the subordination of people of Mexican origin is created and perpetuated in the United States (*Ibid.*).

The educational failure of many students of Mexican origin occurs in the context of many challenges, such as poverty, language, and cultural barriers. However, according to different researchers, the real problem is racism (Carger, 1996; Delgado, 2003/2006; Kay-Oliphant, 2005; Parker, 1999; Parker and Lynn, 2002). The educational experiences of these students are infused with overt and subtle forms of racism throughout their schooling (Gillborn, 1998; Trueba, 1993; Villenas and Dehyhle, 1999). Through the lens of CRT, we have an instrument for critical analysis through which we can seek answers to vital questions in the context of institutionalized racism. Through this analysis of dominant society privilege, we are able to focus on various issues that lead to school underachievement. For example, questions such as, "Why are students of Mexican origin the recipients of low teacher expectations?" or, "How is the curriculum used as a tool to maintain the dominant society's supremacy in schools?" can be explored. These difficult

questions and others allow researchers and educators to critically examine issues that affect students of Mexican origin and other minorities.

Ultimately, CRT continues to be a movement fueled by the interest in studying and changing the dynamics of power, class, and race. Other researchers also have utilized counter-narratives to examine the diverse forms of discrimination and oppression experienced by immigrants, students, parents, and families of Mexican origin (Auerbach, 2002; Romero, 2006; Solorzano and Yosso, 2001; Villalpando, 2003; Villenas and Deyhle, 1999). Solorzano and Yosso (2000/2001/2002) have postulated five basic premises of Critical Race theory and methodology in education that this researcher has utilized as guiding principles for the development of this study:

1) The centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination.
2) The challenge to dominant ideology
3) The commitment to social justice
4) The centrality of experiential knowledge
5) An interdisciplinary [or transdisciplinary] perspective

(2001: 472-473, 2002: 25-27)

In conclusion, CRT is utilized a unifying framework in this study because it places the narratives of the participants in the historical, ideological, and socioeconomic contexts in which racism has been declared virtually eliminated, while colonized minorities continue to be victimized (Parker and Lynn, 2002). Furthermore, a CRT perspective that triggers critical awareness and conscientization will allow minority parents, students, and their communities to become politically aware and socially active. The theoretical framework is useful in explaining to families and students of Mexican origin how the negative perceptions and castification of their culture are interrelated with the power relations and social structure in the United States (Villenas and Dehyhle, 1999). Consequently, they can come together and begin to make changes in the educational system by gaining political and economic power as a group (Carger, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Villenas and Dehyhle, 1999).

The following chapter explains in detail the methodological approach this research has adopted in order to promote such goals.

# Methodological Approach

In order to acknowledge the *counter stories* and learn from the *counter life histories* of academically successful immigrants of Mexican origin, a life-history case study of six immigrants who have graduated from the community college has been implemented. The case study is a research method which focuses on the characteristics, conditions, and complexity of a single case, or a small number of cases. Generally, its objective is not to generalize the findings to other cases (Seidman, 2006). Nevertheless, it has been pointed out that, "In one sense all research is a case study: there is always some unit, or set of units, in relation to which data are collected and/or analysed" (Gomm, *et al.*, 2000: 2). Furthermore, some researchers argue that counterstories are indeed generalizable "through their resonance with lived experiences of oppressed peoples, rather than through parametric statistics" (Delgado-Bernal, 2003 quoted by Villalpando, 2003: 625). As suggested by critical race theorists, the participants' life history narratives, or counterstories, were explored in their multifaceted contexts and dimensions, since life histories are not simply individual productions, but also the product of cultural and ideological contexts (Bell, 2003; Delgado and Stefancic 2001). The use of CRT emphasizes the importance of theory in developing an explanatory and not just an exploratory or descriptive multiple-case study (Yin, 2003).

This work is concerned with social justice and inclusion. In tandem with critical theory, feminist thought, and critical pedagogy, it agrees with the premise of developing research methodologies as vehicles for political and social change (Cahill, 2004; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; Thomas, 1993). Thus, this study was conceived as a tool to talk back to the community –including the participants– to expose the ways race and power relations affect the education and lives of people of Mexican origin in the U.S. (Cahill, 2004; Parker and Lynn, 2002). An essential purpose of the research was to capture the lived experiences of academically successful Mexican immigrants, but also to incite reflection and mutual learning from their narratives. Their stories were elicited by utilizing in-depth life-history interviewing, which allowed me to explore their background, development, successes, failures and lessons they have learned from their experiences in the United States.

Educational life history methodology utilizes small samples or individual subjects because it involves extensive observation or interviewing. Thus, the resulting narrative

achieves a profoundness which empirical research involving larger samples is unlikely to produce (Dhunpath, 2000). This type of qualitative research, infused with a CRT perspective, may defy the unspoken canons and limitations of what is sometimes considered "valid" academic investigation. Such norms sometimes impede the exploration of new avenues of research and, therefore, some researchers make the case for change. Kezar and Talburt (2004), for example, call for higher education researchers to shift the norms "by understanding, conducting, and reading research as a conversation, and thus as opening rather than closure of dialogue" (4). They are critical of the current political environment, which is encouraging a retraction rather than an expansion of research approaches. They specifically criticize the U.S. National Research Council's (NRC) Committee on Scientific Research in Education for promoting legislation that defines legitimate research as "scientific" in increasingly limited and normative ways.

Consistent with a CRT approach, this methodology is a means to legitimize and promote the voices of minorities of Mexican origin, so that their experiential knowledge may enrich the critiques of the dominant social order (Nebeker, 1998). Also in harmony with CRT, critical pedagogy, and the purposes of this study, the incitement of critical awareness alone has a value of its own. As suggested by Solórzano and Yosso (2002) the participants' counter-narratives, put in the counter-historical context revealed by this research, will contribute to build a sense of community among the colonized, will help challenge the colonizers' belief systems, and will challenge the exclusionary notion of who "belongs" in the United States. From this approach, in-depth interviewing was the best method for understanding and "making meaning" of the participants' stories and their educational experiences. Seidman (2006) emphasizes that,

> The purpose of in-depth interview is not to get answers to questions, not to test hypothesis, and not to 'evaluate' as the term is normally used. At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning *they* make of that experience (9).

Seidman (2006) advocates a three-step interviewing process as the research model for this study. His in-depth interviewing approach involves three separate life history interviews with each participant through the use of open-ended questions. Once the questions are asked of participants, the interviewer uses their answers as a basis to gather more information about particular areas and to develop additional questions. The ultimate purpose of this process is to allow participants to recreate their life histories within the parameters of the study. Seidman's approach is based on a combination of

assumptions made from phenomenology and practice through interviewing. On the other hand, McCracken (1988) recommends one long qualitative interview that involves four phases: 1) an exhaustive review of the literature, 2) a self-examination, 3) developing a questionnaire and conducting the interview, and 4) the analysis of the data. This research has utilized an intermediate approach, where a minimum of two interviews were conducted with each participant, and a third one was only scheduled when deemed necessary.

Life-history research is characterized by an extensive effort on the part of the interviewer to explore the perceptions and dynamics of the participants. Thus, flexibility and involvement are necessary ingredients in any successful in-depth life-history study. Marvasti (2004) emphasizes the necessary high level of involvement in ethnographic studies, where the researcher must collect data through such involvement and participation in the subject matter. In this research, which involves delicate matters of legality and vulnerability on the part of the interviewees, the level of trust and rapport between interviewer and participants must be very high. Therefore, the interviewing process must be one in which

> The interviewer is genuinely concerned with the interviewee as a person, going beyond search for delimited information input. In turn, the interviewee sufficiently reciprocates these feelings, valuing the interviewer's motives and seeking to respond in appropriate depth. Though still limited, the time frame is not tightly constrained, and the interviewee in turn may ask questions of the interviewer, exploring intent, seeking clarification and otherwise actively participating in the process of seeking understanding (Massarik, 1985).

Interviewing is not an exact science but, when interpreting reality through this interactive process, one must remember that lived accounts and perceptions are as powerful as placebos in medical science. As expressed by sociologist W.I. Thomas, "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (quoted in Raleigh Yow: 23). Life history methodology explores these realities as a means to open up racist subjectivities to alternative discourses (Bagley, 1992). Therefore, life-history research is not about assessing a limited number of researcher-controlled variables to find out if a predetermined hypothesis is real. Rather, this kind of investigation is inferential, where a great number of variables and their interconnectedness are considered not as isolated phenomena, but as being interwoven in their life environment.

> The value of life histories in the study of education is well established and has been considered in the context of schooling, teacher knowledge, the relationship between the personal and institutional domain, and teachers' professional self-development (Bagley, 1992: 177).

Thus, many areas of concern to education can be studied this way, not merely as a record of events, but as an integrated explanation of the interconnection between individuals, circumstances, times, and places. This type of investigation, however, "differs markedly from the sort of research conducted by most scientists, including behavioral and social scientists" (Best and Kahn, 1989: 57). Nevertheless, this researcher is convinced that the exploration of oral testimony through in-depth interviewing maximizes the possibility of discovering something not previously known about the circumstances of academically successful Mexican immigrants. Ultimately, this is "the great task of qualitative research"…: "to reveal the meaning of lived experience" (Raleigh Yow, 1994: 25).

## The role of the researcher

The role and the abilities of the researcher are essential when trying to elicit answers and narratives from the participants. In an in-depth, unstructured interview, the researcher must have the skillfulness to uncover what is not known by enticing the interviewees' disclosure of what the researcher needs to learn (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). However, Seidman (2006) stresses that "interviewing relationships exist in a social context" (95) and that, even when a researcher makes a conscious effort to keep the relationship within strict interview parameters, social forces affect the process. The forces of gender, race, ethnicity, and class influence the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of the study, even when they try to eschew such influences (*Ibid.*). Similarly, the role or status of the researcher as an "insider" or an "outsider" can carry with it advantages or disadvantages in the interviewing process, but the boundaries between the two positions can be difficult to define (Merriam *et al.*, 2001):

> What does it mean to be an insider to a particular group under study? Can women understand men's experience? Can Whites study Blacks? Straights study gays? The colonized study the colonizer (*Ibid.*: 405)?

Critical, feminist, and multiculturalist theorists argue that insider/outsider issues exist in an even more complex context that involves the researcher's *positionality*,[39] *power* and *representation* in relation to race, class, gender, culture, and other factors (*Ibid.*). This approach helped me realize that my assumptions of easy access to the participant's narratives based on our commonalities of culture and race could be more complex than anticipated. For example, Merriam *et al.* (2001) illustrate the possibility of becoming an outsider among your own with the case of a Korean researcher who did not find cooperation among her own immigrant compatriots in the U.S. A mixture of documented and undocumented Korean immigrants from a lower economic status viewed their fellow countrywoman's doctoral student status as more prestigious than theirs and, therefore, some treated the researcher as an outsider to their community (*Ibid.*). Therefore, I became more aware and cautious about issues like social status, power and authority, and differences of life experiences.

Song and Parker (1995) have argued that participants do feel commonality or difference with the researcher based on personal relationships, gender, physical appearance, and language. Therefore, assumptions made by interviewees about the researcher's cultural identity will shape their narratives (*Ibid.*). Since I shared important similarities with the participants in this research –race, class, language–, our interaction felt very natural and five of them felt more comfortable when I spoke to them in Spanish. This could be a good or a bad thing, since a good researcher must strive to ensure equity and impartiality throughout the whole interviewing process (Seidman, 2006) and, sometimes, that can be difficult. Sin (2005) argues that the facts that we elicit from the interviewees, in reality are constructed by the questions we ask and how we ask them. Thus, narratives can be distorted by how our questions are interpreted, by how we understand the answers, and by the dynamics between the interviewer and the interviewees. Sin concludes that a more reflexive methodological approach is necessary including a holistic view that includes the individual's wider social milieu (*Ibid.*). This research does precisely that, placing the participants' narratives in a multidimensional background, challenging the dominant ideology, and emphasizing the counter-historical context.

---

[39] For Merriam *et al.* positionality is "determined by where one stands in relation to the other'" (411). For other researchers, positionality refers to the researcher's personal interests. In Designing Qualitative Research, Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue that the qualitative researcher's challenge is to demonstrate that such personal interests will not distort the study.

McCracken (1988) emphasizes that the qualitative researcher is a kind of "instrument" in the collection and analysis of information. In other words, the researcher can only achieve the research objectives by utilizing "a broad range of his or her own experience, imagination and intellect in ways that are various and unpredictable" (18). At the same time, researchers must overcome their own preconceptions throughout the interviewing process by becoming conscious of their own biases and predispositions and of how these issues may affect the study. Creswell (2002) recommends that, as the primary data collection instrument, the researcher should identify personal values, assumptions, and biases at the beginning of the study. In my case, before I interviewed the participants, I became aware of and reflected on my own intolerance to the unconscious racial and class distinctions imbedded in Mexican society, which were likely to emerge during the interviews. Through the interview process, I made an effort to be continuously aware of potential prejudices and personal bias. I emphasized my objective to the interviewees and I was very clear about the role they played in the research, keeping us focused on the study's goals.

Finally, I also kept in mind that the role of a researcher who utilizes a CRT perspective for conducting a critical ethnography is different from that of a researcher conducting a traditional interviewing process (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001). CRT researchers challenge White privilege, reject notions of neutral research and objective researchers (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002) and believe that, at some point, researcher and interviewees can "become actors in a common culture" (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001: 8). Therefore, throughout the interviews, I acknowledged Solorzano and Yosso's (2000/2001/2002) five basic principles for critical race methodology. Sometimes I took an active position in encouraging conscientization –in the most Freirean sense of the term– among the participants.

## Research process and open-ended questions

The original intent of this research was to develop a case study of academically successful Mexican-Americans who were in their last semester of community college studies or who had graduated from the community college with high grades. As I looked for possible participants, I asked community college counselors and faculty for their help. In an exploratory stage, I approached some potential participants and I discovered that two of the best candidates were first generation immigrants. As I explored the literature

and developed my thesis concept, my interest shifted to focus exclusively on Mexican immigrants. Then, as I considered inviting one of my former students to be part of the research, the issue of her immigrant status emerged. She was an undocumented, but academically successful Mexican immigrant who had earned three degrees from the community college. A few years before, when I taught a class at the University of Arizona, another bright male student had confided to me that he was an undocumented immigrant. As I delved into Critical Race Theory literature and the history of people of Mexican origin in the U.S., I decided to search for other undocumented immigrants who had graduated from the community college. The task proved to be challenging but, after cautiously talking with colleagues, students, and people within the Mexican-American community, I succeeded in finding six individuals who qualified for this study. Finally, I decided to interview four undocumented college graduates and only two immigrants who have obtained their permanent residency permits in the U.S.

The recruitment process was laborious. Some potential participants showed interest, but their personal backgrounds were determined to be unsuited for the research; others changed their minds and decided not to participate. Before each interview, a consent form (Appendix B) and an information sheet (Appendix C) describing the study were distributed to the candidates. The interviewing process involved the participant's explanation of how each came to be at this point in their lives. It allowed for the telling of their personal life-history narratives and explaining their experiences within the context of two or three interviews. Each interview took place three days to two weeks apart to give the interviewee time to reflect, but not forget their ideas. The first part of the interviewing process focused on the interviewee's life history, a second part explored their experiences as immigrant students, and a third phase focused on reflecting and making meaning out of their personal experiences. The interview parts were not related to the number of sessions between the researcher and the interviewee. However, in one case, the two first parts were completed in one session, but I would not start the third part without giving the participant and myself some days for reflection. In order to establish more effective communication and rapport with the participants, interviews were conducted in the language the interviewees preferred: English or Spanish. Ultimately, all interviews included both languages, but predominantly Spanish. After the interviews were electronically recorded, the data was accurately transcribed by a bilingual transcriber with research experience. Later, collected data was coded and related to the literature review for use in this study as needed. To facilitate this process and to give the

reader easy access to the participants' life-histories, synopses of their stories were created. As themes related to the literature review emerged during the synopsis-writing process, they were incorporated into the analysis chapter. As additional common themes from the participants' narratives surfaced, they also were incorporated into the analysis.

The interview strategy and open-ended questions were designed based on the professional literature (Dhunpath, 2000; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Marvasti, 2004; Massarik, 1985; McCracken, 1988; Seidman, 2006) to obtain information about students' identities, family life, grades, the people who kept them in school, school issues, college plans and goals, and life goals. The participants' answers provided insight into who advised and guided them, their involvement in other life dimensions, and the importance of peers throughout their schooling and beyond. These details are meaningful for more fully understanding each individual student since, unlike quantitative surveys where a correlation may be interpreted as an output, in qualitative studies recurrent associations are used as indicators toward further phases of analysis (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003). Further in this study, associative analysis will bring a more profound understanding of the participants' narratives and the detection of patterns, linkages, and associations will be explained within the context of a CRT perspective. With this objective in mind, the following key questions were utilized as "narrative triggers" in the interviewing process:

**Part One–Life History:**

1. How would you tell your life history? What have been some of your most formative experiences?
2. How did you become an immigrant to the United States?
3. How did you become a student in the community college?
4. What was your relationship with your teachers/counselors/co-students? What was a typical day for you as an immigrant college student, including your challenges, concerns, motivations?
5. How much effort did you expend in achieving your educational goals?
6. Which factors do you feel kept you in college? (greatest source of support)
7. Which negative factors almost kept you from attending college?

**Part Two–Contemporary Experience:**

8. What is a typical day for you as an immigrant?

9. Tell me about your family life and the role of family in your life

10. What are the main challenges you face during a typical day?

11. What do you consider your main successes in life? What is success for you?

**Part Three–Reflection on Meaning**

12. What does it mean to you to be an immigrant in the U.S.?

13. What does it mean to you to be a community college graduate? What is the value of education for you?

14. What is your perspective on the issue of discrimination and racism as you look at your own life experience?

15. What are you (Mexican, Mexican-American, Latino/a, Hispanic, Chicano/a)?

16. What is your main goal in life? Where do you see yourself in ten years?

These questions provided the basic structure for each interview, but also allowed for flexibility within each individual narrative. Individuals were approached with this set of questions, but changes were implemented when necessary. For example, if a question was trivial for one of the participants, it was acceptable for her/him to not spend time on it. Likewise, if the same question was very meaningful to another participant, it was acceptable to spend as much time as desired discussing the issue. The total time the participants invested in their life-history narratives was between 126 minutes (the shortest set of interviews) and 247 minutes (the longest). The meetings with each potential participant, however, amounted to a much lengthier investment of time and some of them did not produce interviews. In preparation for the interviews, previous meetings involved conversation about trivial topics, development of rapport, and exchange of ideas about educational and professional matters.

## Data collection and management

There are many advantages to data collection through the process of in-depth interviewing. First, the probability that the researcher will misunderstand the study participants is reduced. The communication process is not meant to test a hypothesis, but

to help the researcher understand the participants' experiences (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The unstructured, in-depth interview is particularly helpful to the researcher since, unlike the structured format, it allows the participants to produce narratives from the richness of their own contexts. In addition to this flexibility, other advantages of this method of interviewing include the opportunity to continually assess and evaluate the data that has been gathered and the opportunity to restructure questions to accommodate sensitive issues (*Ibid.*).

As suggested by Bystedt (2003), before the in-depth interview, I asked the participants to spend some time reflecting on their life histories before and after they came to the United States. During the interviews, it was clear that some of them had previously pondered different issues that helped them expand their responses during the interview process. I made sure that they understood that the questions I had prepared were only triggers for the participants to shape their own narratives. One of them, for example, enhanced her story with family photographs from different periods of her life, explaining some of the images in great detail. Through this receptive approach, as suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), I had the opportunity to enhance rapport throughout the interview which, in turn, motivated the participant to express her own particular interpretation of reality in the richest way possible.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) also suggest that the researcher design a gradual process aimed at developing mutual feelings of trust between the interviewer and the participants. In order to achieve this, experts recommend "member checks," a method that involves sharing the interview report with the interviewees (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This method increases the credibility of the report and gives confidence to the researcher and the participants who, simultaneously, can develop a stronger sense of trust by seeing each other as equals (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In addition to sharing my interview analyses with the participants, I shared with them the counter-historical background of their situation as researched in my review of the literature. This was a very deliberate decision aimed at developing *conscientization* about concepts of castification, colonialism, oppression, racism, and others as defined in this research. However, I was careful not to overtly display these perspectives before or during the interview so that my views would not influence their narratives.

After collecting the material, the researcher must organize and keep track of the data. It has been noted that, "it is often at this first stage that several hundred pages of transcript or field notes, hours of recordings or piles of original documents can seem quite daunting" (Ritchie *et al.*, 2003: 221). This is why it is indispensable that the researcher utilize a well organized system for efficient data management. I paid careful attention to this principle as I identified recurrent themes or ideas and constructed a conceptual reference or 'index' from the raw data, as suggested by Ritchie *et al.* (2003). After digital recordings, transcripts, and files were labeled and secured, they were stored in a safe place where only the researcher has access. I kept in mind that assuring confidentiality and security is of utmost importance when handling interview materials. A file was created for each participant, both on the computer and on paper. Each participant's file included all questionnaires, consent forms, transcripts, notes, etc. All important information that could potentially be included in the dissertation was highlighted and the transcripts were condensed to a smaller format so they could be accessed and analyzed more easily (Seidman, 2006).

## Ethical issues

Ethical issues in qualitative research commonly focus on four main concerns: 1) an assessment of benefit versus harm, 2) confidentiality, 3) duality of roles –how the role of the researcher may shift throughout the project, and 4) informed consent (Knapik, 2002). In the United States, researchers working with human subjects must pass human subjects training, ensuring they understand the legal requirements for working with human participants and the importance of these four concerns. Such knowledge is particularly important for research interviews, since this method involves one-on-one interaction between the researcher and the subject. In the interviews conducted for this research, in addition to Durham University research ethics committee approval for work with human subjects, legal and ethical guidelines have been followed as outlined in J.E. Sieber's (1992) Planning Ethically Responsible Research. Sieber's guidelines are used by the University of Arizona (UA) Human Subjects Protection Program.

The extensive implications of ethical issues outlined in the UA Human Subjects Protection Program will not be discussed here. However, this research acknowledges the importance of these concerns, including issues such as privacy and confidentiality.

deception, informed consent, assessment of potential research risk and benefits, and problems involving vulnerable populations (*Ibid.*). Throughout this research and during the unstructured interviews, issues surrounding the ethical nature of the interviewer's behavior, subject confidentiality, and risks to the subject were of utmost concern. Furthermore, I kept full awareness of the fact that, as discussed by Fisher (2000), both researchers and interviewees have power that can be misused to further their own agenda. Nevertheless, I also expected to encounter some personal dilemmas where I could be tempted to intervene, and I indeed did. Two of the participants, for example, were clearly being taken advantage of by their employers in unlawful ways. When these issues were revealed, I continued the interviews within the established parameters. However, at the end of the sessions, I offered information about their rights and about organizations they could contact for support.

Because of the personal and sensitive nature of the information that was being gathered, I strived to use discernment at all times in order to protect the participants. Participants can be at risk in various ways, for example, by using the person's real name in a report rather than a pseudonym if it has been established that the subject will remain anonymous. In this study, one of the participants insisted that she wanted her real name to appear in the final manuscript, which led me to a consultation with my thesis advisor. Due to the sensitivity of the research and the vulnerability of the interviewee, it was agreed that the participant's request could not be granted. As outlined by Rynkiewich and Spradley (1976), this decision was part of the researcher/interviewer's obligation to assume both "ethical and scientific" responsibility: If the participant becomes exposed to an unacceptable level of risk, the interviewer should explain the situation to all parties involved and the research should be immediately discontinued. In this case, granting the participant's wish would have placed her at unnecessary risk (*Ibid.*).

Finally, ethics also refers to ideals that describe how people should interact in various situations and to the principles of conduct guiding those relationships (Guba, 1990). In this study, mutual respect and tolerance were essential guiding principles outlined from the beginning. Sieber (1992) argues there are a number of benefits derived from utilizing an ethical conduct of research, beyond adding to the knowledge base. She believes, as do I, in the principle of giving back to the community that provided the data. This research achieved this objective through the promotion of conscientization, as explained in the definition of terms and concepts, as well as in other ways that will be explained later.

## Reliability, validity, and trustworthiness

An important aspect of ethical research is assurance that the study is both reliable and valid. Kirk and Miller (1986) define *reliability* as the degree to which the findings of research are "independent of accidental circumstances," and *validity* as the degree to which the findings are "interpreted in a correct way" (20). In research with controlled environments and hypotheses to be proven, these terms can be understood by asking:

> 'did the experiment answer the question satisfactorily?' (validity), and as a necessary condition of that, 'was the data reliable –could somebody else do it all again and get the same answer, or was it such a poorly designed experiment that the results were random and meaningless?' (reliability) (Gott and Duggan, 2003: 6).

It could be argued that interviews cannot be repeated; even if the same participants are asked the same questions, a different researcher might get different answers or have different interpretations. Qualitative research scholars have not developed a consensus as to the appropriate criteria for assessing validity and reliability (Merriam, 2002a). Lincoln and Guba (1985) claim that, in qualitative research, the terms credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are equivalent to the concepts of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity. Guba and Lincoln (1981) have proposed "phenomenon recognition" as a method for checking reliability and validity in qualitative research. This method involves presenting the researcher's construal of the interviewees' "reality" to those who live it, and asking them whether it does, indeed, represent their common and shared experience. This technique is related to the previously discussed concept of "member checks."[40] Therefore, phenomenon recognition and member checking are a form of "reality check" that gives certainty and credibility to the research process. These techniques acknowledge that, although it is the responsibility of the researcher to place the participants' comments in context, paraphrasing Freire (1970): the researcher's knowledge is his/her reality, not theirs. Furthermore, the recognition of my description of the phenomenon as "real" by the participants was particularly important since, although all of them read and speak English, the interviews were mostly conducted

---

[40] Phenomenon recognition requires that the phenomenon be recognized by those who experience it. This may involve the participants, informants, family members, and others (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). In this study, phenomenon recognition only involved the participants, who were given the opportunity to corroborate the accuracy of my construal of their reality. Additionally, participants implemented "member checks" by double-checking my English translation and commenting on my interpretation of the data. As suggested by Merriam (2002a), participants were also allowed to propose changes in order to better describe their perspectives.

in Spanish. Ultimately, it is evident that the terms "validity" and "reliability" have diverse connotations for different researchers.

The term *trustworthiness* –preferred by this researcher– has been defined as the "complement of reliability and validity" (Jones, 2002: 177) and has been increasingly favored by research methodology experts (Creswell, 1998/2002; Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2002a/2002b; Patton, 2002). I found this concept in other qualitative doctoral dissertations in the U.S., England, and Canada (Dotson-Blake, 2006; Duffy, 2002; Li, 2002 respectively). The notion of trustworthiness basically addresses the question: "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 290). Therefore, trustworthiness very much rests on the ethical conduct of the researcher (Merriam, 2002a). Verification of trustworthiness requires the researcher to ensure that both participant and researcher have made the same meaning of what was said throughout the interviews. Thus, in conjunction with phenomenon recognition and member checks, I followed some of Creswell's (1998) recommendations for establishing trustworthiness. One of such recommendations involves the use of a peer reviewer as an external examiner of the research process. Alongside the guidance of my thesis advisor, I used the assistance of a bilingual reviewer with research experience to double-check accuracy and readability throughout the project. Another procedure to assure trustworthiness was the clarification of researcher's bias (*Ibid.*). The steps I took to follow such procedure have been explained under "Role of the Researcher." Finally, the design of the interview process was itself intended to ensure trustworthiness. Having at least two interviews with each member separated by a few days gave me time to reflect on the content of the narratives and to clarify information with the participants. My interest in being faithful to their experience and message helped me build rapport and trust with the participants as recommended by different scholars (Creswell, 1998; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Marvasti, 2004; Massarik, 1985).

In conclusion, the research process was concerned with the meaning being constructed not only by the researcher, but also by the participants. Through the interviewees' recognition of their reality in my words and through their self-examination, information was often recalled which had been largely ignored, forgotten, or even misconstrued. This approach gave me the confidence that the research process resulted in genuine representations of the participants' stories. When researchers feel that this has been

achieved, they can be confident that there is validity and trustworthiness for both researcher and participant (Seidman, 2006). In the end, as predicted by Merriam (2002b), I best understood the issues around trustworthiness once I became immersed in the study and learned through my own actions, from the participants' perspectives, and from unintended outcomes.

## Objectivity

Since the nineteenth century, many social scientists have proven objectivity by adhering to the principle that "anyone properly trained in the scientific method [can] validate their results by repeating the research" (Smith, 1994: 19). Another premise of "sound" research establishes that the results of the study should be reported with meaningful variables, which can be measured against other relevant theories (Guba, 1990). In our day, many qualitative and quantitative researchers follow these principles, but there is growing awareness that true social and political objectivity is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve (Smith, 1994). Patton (2002) quotes Kirk and Miller (1986) to explain that objectivity involves the achievement of "as much reliability and validity as possible" (94). However, as explained above, the notion of trustworthiness is preferred by many researchers and can achieve as much credibility. Patton also points out that,

> ...a credible voice conveys authenticity and trustworthiness; complete objectivity being impossible and pure subjectivity undermining credibility, the researcher's focus becomes balance –understanding and depicting the world authentically in all its complexity while being self-analytical, politically aware, and reflexive in consciousness (Patton, 2002: 41).

It also has been argued that qualitative research can escape from the traditional concepts of objectivity and subjectivity by utilizing the notion of *perspective* (Reason, 1985):

> we have to learn to think dialectically, to view reality as a process, always emerging through self-contradictory development, always becoming; reality is neither subject nor object, it is both wholly independent of me and wholly dependent on me. This means that the notion of validity must concern itself both with the knower and with what is to be known: valid knowledge is a matter of *relationship*. And of course this validity may sometimes be enhanced if we can say we know, rather than simply I know: we can move towards an intersubjectively valid knowledge which is beyond the limitations of one knower (241-42).

Additionally, Guba (1990) argues that being objective includes being conscious and honest about our own beliefs, values, and prejudices that could possibly affect the research process. Furthermore, this investigation contends that researchers must be challenged to broaden narrow views of educational research. Despite calls for "scientific objectivity," emotions are always at the center of quality educational research (de Marrais, 2004). Emotions are responses to power relations and, like unfair social dynamics, they are at the center of case studies like this one. Therefore, it is never feasible to be totally objective, for the very presence of the researcher, as that of any investigator in any study, alters the state of affairs. Moreover, a researcher attempting to be totally objective might miss elements of particular importance to the participant and could be unfair to different points of view (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

From a similar perspective, Blair (1998) believes that, in terms of neutrality, a distinction should be made "between *striving* for neutrality and *guaranteeing* neutrality" (13). According to this view, neutrality cannot be guaranteed in any analysis, no matter how hard we attempt it (*Ibid.*). This is because our histories and memories are imbued with personal elements of class, race, gender, and other exclusionary notions that form our understanding of the world. Utilizing a conceptual approach like Critical Race Theory to interpret reality acknowledges this view, although it may represent defiance to the traditional research canons. Nevertheless, as previously discussed, there is awareness in this study that it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that potential researcher's prejudices have been considered throughout the study. Accordingly, I followed Seidman's (2006) suggestion that researchers should keep in mind some essential questions: What is the basis of this study? What is my interest and what is it that I am trying to learn? What is my stake in this? What are my expectations? (32-33)

Knowing and understanding the answers to such questions helps researchers in the attempt to eliminate bias and lack of objectivity (*Ibid.*). In this research, I became aware that I had preconceived notions of what the interviewees would say; thus, I made sure that I did not lead the participants to say what I expected to hear from them. Additionally, I made the wording of the questions as simple as possible, with no hint of what the answers should contain. At the same time, by adopting a critical position that rejects the more traditional notions of research neutrality and objectivity, I knew I was navigating in dangerous waters. Nevertheless, the utilization of CRT in this study reinforces G.

Anzaldúa's assertion that "if we have been gagged and disempowered by theories, we can also be loosened and empowered by theories" (quoted in Solórzano and Yosso, 2002: 37).

At the end, the question of objectivity is similar in any type of research, be it quantitative or qualitative. Bad research of any kind is always deplorable, while good research is still only tentative. Good research will always be objective in the sense that it has been opened up to criticism, and the reasons and evidence offered for it will have withstood serious challenge. Objective research will confront potential refutation, and insofar as it survives, it will be considered worthy of further investigation (Phillips, 1990).

## Research limitations and final thoughts

Any type of research will suffer from limitations, weaknesses, and challenges. A common challenge in this type of research is the issue of the generalizability of findings, which may be questionable in the eyes of rationalistic researchers. As explained above, the objective of this study is not to generalize findings to other cases but, among other goals, to identify elements in the lives of these individuals that may help develop strategies for improving the educational achievement of people of Mexican origin in similar situations, while enriching the critiques of the dominant social order. However, the issue of external validity or generalizability in qualitative studies has generated extensive debate among research scholars (Merriam, 2002a). Qualitative research scholars argue that generalizability "should be thought of differently from quantitative research" (*Ibid.*: 28). Instead of the term generalizability, the concept of "context bound extrapolations" has been suggested (M.Q. Patton, quoted by Merriam, 2002a: 28). From this perspective, the generalizability of a qualitative study should be determined by the users of the research themselves and by the extent to which they can apply the findings to their own contexts (*Ibid.*).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), the interviewing process has its inefficiencies and costs, but it does render "the richest information per unit of time invested" (188). Drawbacks include the vast amount of materials generated from this process, which may become overwhelming. Other limitations that involve the interviewees are the memory gaps and distortions that occur when narrating old experiences and emotions, as perceptions and memories may change overtime (Brenner, 1985). There is also a possibility that participants do not reveal crucial information simply because of a lack of perspicacity or, in very sensitive cases, unwillingness to disclose information due to a

perception of threat or vulnerability (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). And, as explained above, participant bias can occur when the interviewees perceive the researcher either as an insider or an outsider (Merriam *et al.*, 2001).

On the other hand, the researcher's behaviors, idiosyncrasies, and other personal attributes also may turn out to be limitations that could have a negative impact on the research. There is a risk that the researcher could influence the participants' narratives by giving them unconscious cues. It is possible that the interviewer unconsciously encourage the interviewee to be a "good respondent" through unaware verbal and nonverbal induction, just as it is possible to alienate the participant by inadvertently sending him/her the wrong messages (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). At the end, all this can result in misinformation that can lead to faulty conclusions. To minimize the possibility of such negative influences, I carefully implemented the strategies and approaches described in the previous sections, including: building trust and rapport, using flexibility, having the upmost respect for the participants, being aware of multiple contexts and circumstances, and being conscious of my own prejudices. Moreover, in addition to the strategies of member checks and phenomenon recognition, I utilized an empathetic, strategic, and active listening approach.

My philosophy behind *active listening* involves a Freirean approach with the deliberate objective of producing changes in people. This transformation is not encouraged by the interview itself (although, during the interview some participants became reflective and questioning about their disadvantaged positions in society), but from the relationship that is created between the researcher and the participant, from the information they are exposed to, and from the exchange of ideas after the interview process. My listening techniques involved acknowledging the views of the participant, even when I disagreed with them; providing encouragement to the person's ideas, while asking challenging questions; and remaining nonjudgmental. I also implemented other listening skills as suggested by Wolvin and Coakley (1993), namely: discerning between literal and symbolic meaning, gaining meaning of words through contextual clues, recognizing cultural sources, noting the meaning of silence, recognizing the emotional self and other barriers to listening, paraphrasing or checking back for understanding, and others (5-7).

Finally, other researchers and the users of the research must recognize that the participants' narratives and their interpretation should be understood within the time and context of their occurrence (Seidman, 2006). For example, the time and location of this

research may have influenced the study, since anti-immigrant sentiments were very intense and constituted one of the most ardent political issues in the State of Arizona when the interviews were being conducted. Their narratives are not the end of the participants' experiences; their lives and circumstances evolve, as do their sociopolitical contexts. Nevertheless, life-history interviewing was the ideal method to understand the participants' experiences more in depth and to more fully value the narratives that they have chosen to reveal to us (*Ibid.*). Eventually, this work may allow the users of this research to do "context bound extrapolations" of its findings to the experiences of others in similar circumstances.

In summary, knowledge about methodology issues and limitations has been essential in setting up the framework for this qualitative study. I am aware of the fact that qualitative research, particularly when it involves interviews, has been regarded as "unreliable," "inconsistent," "ambiguous," and even "contradictory" (Watson, 2006). However, in the field of education, where there is a concern for individuals, all research findings are tentative (Gomm *et al.*, 2000). Ultimately, all results are part of a continually expanding body of knowledge. With that understanding, this research deliberately utilizes a non-neutral interpretive approach such as CRT and the premise that reality is "a process, always emerging through self-contradictory development, always becoming..." (Reason, 1985).

It is with this dialectical perspective that, when interpreting narratives, common themes, experiences, and behaviors are revealed through the process of contextualization. Thus, as participants described the experiences that helped them in their educational achievement, the use of CRT helped me discern instances of subordination and marginalization of Mexican immigrants. Such instances are reflected in my synopses of their stories in the next chapter. This approach may be defiant of traditionalistic research norms but, as previously explained, it has clear objectives: Understanding the experience of other people and the meaning *they* make of that experience while inciting critical awareness. In this process, the voices of racial minorities are elevated, informing the struggles for social justice and enriching the critiques of the dominant social order. This research challenges the dominant ideology by privileging experiential knowledge and insisting on the role of race and racism in power relations. My hope is that this work will help other researchers develop realistic support mechanisms that can help improve the academic achievement of people of Mexican origin in the United States.

# LIFE HISTORY NARRATIVE SYNOPSES

> The ability of life history to focus upon certain moments, critical incidents, or fateful moments that revolve around indecision, confusions, contradictions, and ironies, gives a great sense of process to a life and gives a more ambiguous, complex, and chaotic view of reality. It also presents more "rounded" and believable characters than the "flat," seemingly irrational, and linear characters from other forms of qualitative inquiry (Andrew Sparkes quoted by Hatch and Wisniewski, 2003: 116).

As discussed in previous chapters, the contemporary historical, demographic, and socioeconomic contexts surrounding the participants' narratives are part of a counter-history (both remote and immediate) that is commonly ignored by the official memory. The following stories constitute part of the counter-memory of an enormous "minority" of Mexican origin that has been systematically ignored and diminished throughout history, but by sheer numbers and economic impact now demands attention. The six interviewees are introduced below, with short synopses of their experiences as immigrants and as community college students of Mexican origin in the United States. These counter-stories will then be explored in greater depth within the context of the reviewed literature.

## Jesenia's Story:
## "We are like the foundation"

Jesenia came from a poor family in northern Mexico. Her parents divorced when she was six and her mother decided to emigrate to the United States as a way to survive economically after the separation. Jesenia was only seven when she was brought to the U.S. and at the time of our interview, at age twenty-seven, she could hardly remember Mexico. Her cultural roots, however, were as profound as her family memories; her identity was as intricate as the life dimensions she had to navigate. When I asked her what language she would like to use for the interview, she gave me an unexpected answer. Jesenia preferred to do it in *"Espanglish"* (I: 12. See footnote 33). She also had a unique approach to her narrative. She did not simply want to utilize words to tell me her story; she wanted to use an additional form of expression: photographs she had collected

throughout her life.[41] Jesenia started her narrative with an album that she had put together when she was nineteen years old. It contained photographs of her baptism, her childhood, and her teenage years. She showed me images of the town where she was born in Mexico, her mother and older sister, her grandmother, her relatives, the town where her mother was born, her little brother... It appeared as if, with those images, Jesenia wanted to express what she felt was impossible to express with words.

Jesenia's memories were clear and full of colors, like her photographs. She told me the story of how her mother first migrated alone, staying with relatives in southern Arizona until she could secure a job and a place to stay in order to bring her children with her. Jesenia was brought to the United States without documents, through "the hole," with her mother, her sister, and the wife of the person who drove them to the town where they would live. She remembers how the experience was assimilated by her child's mind:

> There was mud when we crossed the fence, and I was behind my sister, and we slipped (I: 283-284).

Once they arrived in the city, everything seemed so different, "shiny," "fancy." Jesenia could tell she was in a wealthier society. She remembers being impressed with the vehicles, the lights, fancier stores...

> To me, it was as if we had come here to play (I: 309-310).
>
> ...to me the most important thing was that we could live with my mother. So... everything else didn't matter (I: 349-350).

Jesenia's mother worked hard to make ends meet and struggled to give her children a stable environment. They changed residences four times in approximately two years. As the family moved, Jesenia was enrolled in bilingual programs in different public schools. In spite of the challenges, she excelled in her studies. Starting third grade in the U.S., she loved the Art and Music classes, which she had never had before. She also participated in the school Folkloric Dance group. However, one of the challenges she faced in one of the

---

[41] As an amateur photographer, I found this idea very exciting. Photographs can contain powerful stories and messages. Photography is a universal language that can reflect truthfully life and events in ways that words cannot. It also can be utilized as a visual pedagogical tool to challenge the status quo. For example, Ramírez (2002) has described the artistic photography of Alma López as a "visual language" that has contributed to the process of decolonization of peoples of Mexican origin. With her photographs, Jesenia was allowing me to penetrate in her world both visually and through her narrative.

middle schools she attended was a lack of bilingual programs. Although Jesenia could survive with her knowledge of English at that point, she felt the Spanish-speaking part of her had been shut down. At the same school, she remembers seeing things she had never seen before: gangs, violence, and a negative educational environment. Consequently, she remembers losing the motivation and desire to attend school. Nevertheless, Jesenia finished eighth grade in this school. She found sources of support and inspiration in her mother and in a new friend:

> Margo was from Guanajuato (a region in Mexico). A super intelligent girl. She was good academically, very intelligent. If she did not go to school, I did not want to go to school (I: 466-468). ...I went, but without enthusiasm, because my mom would not let us miss school. Grades always had to be good (I: 484-485).

Jesenia´s mother has a domestic partner who became Jesenia's stepfather. He also was a source of encouragement and motivation in her life, both economically and emotionally. Another inspirational figure for Jesenia was her uncle. She became sentimental as she showed me a photograph and spoke about her uncle and his support for all things that had to do with school. In spite of Jesenia's family support for her academic goals, things were far from easy as she went through her high school and college years. Jesenia had disagreements with her mother and stepfather as she assimilated some feminist values and rebelled against the home responsibilities of the Mexican family structure (I: 717-749). Nonetheless, she always felt support from her uncle. At certain point, the culture clash at home made her decide to move out and live first with a boyfriend and later with her sister and husband. She now interprets that conduct as an immature teenager attitude (I: 763).

Jesenia reflects on the nature of her teenage rebellion:

> My mom worked a lot. That's why I had so much to do taking care of the children. Since she and my stepfather worked so much, I had to take care of [my younger siblings]... My sister always cooked for us and I would do the cleaning. ...Then, my sister, when my sister married, boom! Her responsibilities fell on me... (I: 774-782).
>
> And, since I grew up here... well, I had... ideas that were more liberal, and she [her mother] did not approve... (II: 445-446).

Jesenia grew up thinking that she was like other children and teenagers around her. She discovered that she was an undocumented resident when she was in high school, when she attempted to get a job. She realized that she could not work without a social security

number. She still submitted some job applications without the number, but the employers never called her. Jesenia did not want to be a burden to her parents and discouraged herself to participate in extracurricular activities because of the cost involved. However, she graduated from high school at seventeen and decided to enroll immediately in the community college. A counselor helped her enroll as a minor, with her mother's tax return forms, showing that she had been paying taxes in Arizona for a number of years[42] in order to fulfill residency requirements. Jesenia loved school, but she also had doubts:

> I wanted to learn, but then I thought "Why am I studying if I won't be able to do anything with it?" (I: 1112-1113).
>
> ...but... that was what I wanted to do, you know... I knew what my family expected from me (I: 1117-1118).

Tragically, Jesenia was so motivated to be a productive member of her family and of society that, in her worst moments of desperation, her frustration translated into suicidal thoughts.[43] Her voice broke as she explained:

> I reach the point of saying that it would be easier if I was not here... Being like this, I feel that I am just giving my mom a heavier load (I: 1126-1128).

Her undocumented status also kept her from being more involved in student activities at the college and perhaps from becoming a student leader.

> I attended the meetings [of Student Council], but I tried not to get involved, or stand out, as I would have done if I did not have that limitation (II: 21-23).

Finally, Jesenia not only graduated from the community college, but she was able to transfer to the university. Jesenia was lucky to be invited to participate in a program designed to help minority women who were struggling to achieve their educational goals. This allowed her to afford the university and not be so economically stressed. However,

---

[42] As explained in "The political economy of immigration", above, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) allows undocumented immigrants to file taxes by applying for an Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN). Jesenia's mother, like the interviewees in this research and hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants (Gorman, 2006), pays taxes but is not officially entitled to their benefits.

[43] Sullivan and Rehm (2005) point out that "very rarely are the psychological implications of 'illegal' identity considered" (240). Undocumented immigrants face depression and stress associated with factors like stigmatization, exclusion, restricted mobility, feelings of blame and guilt, vulnerability, and exploitability (*Ibid.*). Additionally, Hiott et al. (2006) point out that social isolation and separation from family may provide insight into stress and its contribution to significant anxiety and depression among immigrants. These were situations that were also experienced by Jesenia. However, research also has shown that strong family and cultural ties contribute to the more positive mental health profile of foreign-born Latinos (Hayes-Bautista, 1997).

Jesenia was always aware that going to school was a "privilege" (II: 84) that should not be taken for granted. While many college students view their studies as the most difficult thing they face, for Jesenia school was the easy part:

> I earned good grades, that is not difficult. The difficulty was outside school, when... uh... money... food... being able to rest, um... that was hard. School was not hard (II: 130-131).

In addition to these challenges, Jesenia's narrative reveals that she has been surrounded by negative elements like gangs, violence, and drugs. Fortunately, she could separate herself from such influences, but her twenty-one year old brother has been in trouble and was sent to jail once. Ironically, Jesenia's brother and younger sister were born in the U.S., therefore they are American citizens. She hopes they will have better opportunities in life because of it, but she is painfully aware of the limitations they have due to their socioeconomic environment:

> In the neighborhood where my mom lives... ah, there were a lot of drugs when we lived there. There were gun shootings in the middle of the night... in the house behind. You know, little by little we've been surviving. There is still drugs, but it's... a community where... the majority of the people are *illegals* or... they are... you know, struggling; so my brother and sister live in the middle of all that. ...They have the potential, but they are in a community where other people can't, so they also believe they are limited (II: 984-994).

Jesenia graduated from the university with a baccalaureate degree in Elementary Education with a concentration in science. She is also certified in bilingual education, but her immigration status prevents her from putting her knowledge to service for her community.[44] Jesenia tries to resign herself to accepting her situation. She expresses her sadness and frustration about her immigration status, but she also reveals a profound sense of history. She places herself historically with other people she does not believe were recognized in their time. Jesenia also places herself with the discrimination against other immigrants in the past. She believes that

---

[44] Incredibly, in 1998, the New York City Department of Education announced that, in this metropolis with millions of Spanish speakers, a shortage of Spanish teachers would be filled with imported teachers from Spain (Smith, 2002: 428). Similarly, in 2006, CBS reported that the City of Dallas was bringing in bilingual teachers from Mexico and Chile, and that at least 10,000 teachers from abroad were needed in the U.S. every year (CBS News). In 2007, the State of Utah's schools districts sent a delegation to Mexico to recruit Mexican teachers. Utah is now getting ready to import as many as 50 teachers from Mexico due to teacher shortages in the state (Benson, 2007).

> *we are the like the foundation for our kids* que van a nacer en el futuro (those who will be born in the future). ...And in their time, you know, like those Irish people that... they gave them the hardest work mmm... we're kind of like that. We're kinda, you know? Like, we're evolving (II: 727-733).

Jesenia, however, has a difficult time thinking of herself as an immigrant:

> I sometimes don't feel like I immigrated... immigrated here to the U.S... it sounds like they're talking about something else. ...Because I grew up in Arizona, and this is my home (III: 729-732).

But she expresses ambivalent feelings as she experiences the dehumanizing designation of "illegal alien." The rancorous immigration debate in the U.S. appears to affect her sense of place and identity:

> Because sometimes you get... you get numb, you know? You hear all this, and then you feel like, oh, I'm not, like... *te sientes como*... (sighs)... I'm like, an alien! You know, *como dicen*, "illegal alien." You do feel like an alien out of space. You're not a person anymore. ...You just feel like less than a person. At a point, I think that's what happens to a lot of us. Cuz it has happened to me too (III: 756-765)

One of the things that helped Jesenia succeed academically was her fortitude and determination to finish school. One of the reasons she left home was her relationship with an Anglo-American boyfriend of whom her family did not fully approve. He was in the military and was very supportive of Jesenia's academic goals. She lived with him for a while on the military base (a place where only U.S. citizens are supposed to have access). He even gave Jesenia access to his boss's office in the middle of the night so she could use the computer to work on her homework (II: 554-556). Nevertheless, when her boyfriend finished his service, seven months before Jesenia's last year at the university, she decided to stay in school instead of following him to Texas, where he had a job offer.

Letting her boyfriend go was a very painful decision for Jesenia. Paradoxically, while for most people staying in school is their pass to a better life, for her, staying with him could have lead to marriage and, consequently, to citizenship. But Jesenia knew what she wanted and she chose to stay in school... despite the fact that she could not fully achieve her dreams because of her "limitation." Thus, even though Jesenia appears to have a timid personality, she possesses a steel tenacity and a strong identity that reflects her bicultural character. And she is not easily stopped by conventionalisms. As she shows me more photographs in her album, she explains a picture where she wears a black dress:

> This was my *Quinceañera*.[45] It was... it was a scolding because my dress was black. One of my aunts scolded me because of my black dress, since... well, "it must be white" (II: 189-191).

Jesenia remembers that she could not always wear what she wanted. When she was a child, her family was poor and did what they could to maximize resources. Once, her stepfather sat with her and explained that they could not buy new clothes for her because she would be able to wear her sister's dresses as they grew up (I: 703-705). Now she appreciates all the sacrifices her parents made for her and she wants to demonstrate to them that she can be self-sufficient and successful. She wants her parents to be proud of her.

Jesenia now works for a family as a domestic worker, cleaning their home and taking care of their children. Surely not too many American families can afford to have an elementary school teacher, certified in bilingual education, as a domestic aid. Jesenia loves their children and she has a good relationship with her employers, but she is also aware of her reality. She explains, as she shows me a photograph:

> This is the family I work for. They also said I'm, like, part of their family, I'm not just a worker there. And it does feel... but sometimes it feels like, wait, I'm just a maid (II: 1740-1743).
>
> ...so I'll clean the restrooms, make the beds, clean floors, dust, vacuum, you mention it, anything that there is to do at home, I do it (III: 95-97).
>
> ...pick up the kids, bring them home, um, help them with their homework (III: 123-124).
>
> ... then I make dinner, ah, *les sirvo dinner a todos* (I serve dinner for everyone) ...I pick up the dishes and wash the dishes while they sit around and watch TV or, you know, have family time... (III: 141-145).

Jesenia takes comfort in the fact that she is working at least a little in what she studied, even if informally, when she helps the children with their homework. Jesenia's day ends between eight and nine thirty at night. For all this work, she was hired for $150.00 per week. Then her employer's sister, a single mother, came to live in the household with her child. Jesenia was also expected to take care of this new child, so she asked for a raise.

---

[45] In the Mexican and Latin American tradition, the *Quinceañera* is a young woman's celebration of her fifteenth birthday. It is considered an important event and is celebrated differently from other birthdays. Traditionally there is a lavish *fiesta* with dance, food, and drinks, where the birthday girl wears an elaborate white dress.

She now receives $220.00 per week. However, her employers have found another way to benefit from her:

> I do a letter for them [for the Department of Economic Security]... for the mother of the child... I make a letter because she receives help from the government. So I make a letter saying that she gives me much more money than what really... than what they really give me (III: 199-202).

By stating that she is receiving pay that she is not receiving, Jesenia is actually subject to higher taxes on her meager salary (III: 272-273). Therefore, she is doubly subsidizing an American citizen's welfare. Clearly in this case, as Massey *et al.* (2002) have pointed out, immigrants raise the living standards and privileges of the middle class in the U.S. ...in apparently both legal and illegal ways. Jesenia sometimes feels she does not get the respect she deserves working for this family (III: 557), but she is a productive member of society. In fact, as a tax payer, a university graduate, and a hard worker she contributes to her community more than many official citizens do.

Jesenia has so much to say, so many memories, so many stories... She goes back and forth with anecdotes. She alternates between English and Spanish or she mixes both throughout her narrative. She shows me pictures of some of her classmates and teachers. She goes back and forth in time and does not particularly care to follow a chronological narrative. But she seems to find the positive even in some painful memories. At one point she remembered how she was tortured by the English-speaking children in her class, "especially the boys." She would try to understand what the English-speaking children were saying, but the bilingual boys would "translate":

> "She said you are very ugly." Or, "She said your dress is very ugly." And... and... they tortured me, you know? (II: 255-256).

Jesenia smiles as she remembers that some English-speaking girls wrote her notes that she could not understand. She was not sure what to make of them, but she kept them for years.

> I kept them... When I was able to read them, I was like, whoa! ...It felt very nice... because one of them wrote something like: "When you can read this... I am just saying I hope I see you next year..." (II: 261-264).

I hope many years from now Jesenia will be able to read this story and smile.

## David's story: "I am always learning"

David was the only participant in this study who wanted to interview in English. He speaks with almost no accent and wanted to emphasize his competence in his new language. He came to the United States in 1993 at age seventeen, after graduating from high school. He does not match the stereotype of the quiet and submissive Mexican immigrant. In Mexico he had been a student leader, participating in school demonstrations against a corrupt principal. He planned to continue his education, and knew he could achieve great things if he only was given the opportunity.

David came from a broken family and did not speak English before immigrating to the United States. His mother started a new relationship with a "legal" resident of Mexican origin in Arizona. She became an authorized immigrant through this relationship and, later, she submitted an application to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to permit David to become a U.S. resident as well. Unfortunately for David and his younger brother, residency permits for family members of authorized residents do not have the same priority as requests made by U.S. citizens. Residency permits for children, parents and siblings of authorized residents can take many years to be approved and are sometimes denied (see Suárez-Orozco *et al.*, 2002).

Optimistic, David entered the U.S. legally, with a tourist visa and the hope of becoming a legal resident in the country. From the beginning, he had educational goals in mind:

> I chose to come with my mom to the United States because I wanted to go to college. That was... my first goal. To go to school. That's why I came to the United States to begin with (I: 13-15)

David's dream was to attend a university in the United States, but he could not speak English and he was not an official resident of the State of Arizona[46]. Nevertheless, he enrolled in the community college only two months after his arrival. Since he was not a U.S. citizen and could not establish Arizona residency through other means, his family helped him pay international student fees. At the same time, he recognized the meager conditions his family lived in and felt pressured to start working to help improve their situation.

> I noticed that there wasn't enough money for the family. So, so… I was the oldest. So I had to work! (I: 22-24).

The family was still waiting for the immigration paperwork to be processed, but David had run out of patience. He decided to work without the proper immigrant authorization. He soon found work washing dishes at a restaurant.

> … the need for food and the need to sustain yourself is bigger than your patience (I: 46-47).

> I basically got a job as a dishwasher because I didn't speak English. Obviously, they didn't care about paperwork. All they said was, "Do you have a Social Security Card?" "Yes, I do." That's all they care. So I got the job (I: 30-33).

At the time, David had a legitimate social security card that he had requested as a family member of an authorized resident. He was not allowed to work with his social security number, but his employer accepted it as valid in spite of the label on the card that forbade employers to do so. David then inferred that he could use his social security card to enroll at the community college. He was permitted to enroll at the college, but was told he needed to be a resident of the state or county for at least one year before qualifying for in-sate tuition fees. Paying out-of-state tuition at the college was an enormous sacrifice

---

[46] In most states, for students to pay cheaper in-state tuition fees, public higher education institutions have state residency requirements. In the past, the qualifying condition for in-state tuition was a demonstrated permanent residency in the state for over one year. The rationale is that residents, as workers and economic members of the community, pay taxes and, therefore, subsidize such public institutions. Residency could be proven with an Arizona driver's license, utility bills, bank statements, or other official documentation. Colleges and universities were not obliged to request proof of citizenship. However, after recent laws passed by the Arizona legislature, any resident attending a public higher education institution must produce proof of "legal" status (e.g. U.S. citizenship or an authorized residency permit) or pay out-of-state tuition fees. This has made it impossible for many undocumented students who have graduated from Arizona public high schools to continue their education. Additionally, twice a year, Arizona community colleges are required by law to report to the legislature the number of undocumented students who have requested admission. The collection of this information has the effect of intimidating potential undocumented students, even when they are able to pay the more expensive tuition fees. Moreover, the new laws make it impossible for undocumented residents to obtain a driver's license, which makes them more vulnerable and limits their mobility. See Drachman (2006) and Versanyi (2006) for different perspectives on citizenship rights and access to higher education for undocumented students.

for David and his family, but he enrolled and began attending classes. After a year of English classes and long hours at the restaurant, he was able to enroll at the community college as an in-state student.

At the college, David joined an organization called Future Hispanic Leaders of America (FHLA). He was surprised to learn the Hispanics in the organization only spoke English, but he decided to participate anyway. He was determined to learn the language.

> ...obviously I didn't speak English much. But, all they spoke was English. So, you also learned that way because, you know... you have to speak English (I: 311-313).

At the FHLA, David learned about affirmative action and the struggles the Hispanic community faces in the United States. He was not convinced that race had anything to do with school failure, but he realized that not all students had the same opportunities in life.

> How do you expect a guy that's working sixty five hours a week have the same GPA as a guy that has this latest technology in, ah, writing... I mean, programs, software, he has money to pay tutors, he has money... and yet, you do a... school of business based on GPA average. I understand that if people want to be successful, they have to try... to the hardest of their abilities. But that's ... when you have an equal playing field (I: 367-372).

David decided the difficult work load and limited hours of study was simply the reality he would have to face, so he focused on his studies and his work. He also faced pressure from his family. At one point during his studies, his mother was disappointed because he was "only" working fifty-five hours a week. Although she encouraged him to study, she expected him to work more. After all, his stepfather had three jobs and was looking for another one.[47] David circumvented the pressure and completed enough credits at the community college to transfer to the university to pursue a baccalaureate degree. A counselor at the community college helped him to submit his credits for transfer to the university but, at the university, David was faced with an insurmountable dilemma. He was asked to produce proof of citizenship and, when he could not, he was told he could attend only if he paid international student fees. At that point, he had been in the U.S. for

---

[47] In contrast to the stereotypes and the dominant narratives, research has found Mexican American workers to be productive, cooperative, and possessing a strong sense of teamwork and work ethic (Weaver, 2000). Interestingly, research also has found the perception that European Americans and Jewish Americans hold regarding the work ethic and intelligence of Hispanics improved significantly between 1990 and 2000 (Weaver, 2005).

over three years, waiting for the INS to grant him legal residency and therefore the ability to study, work, and advance his potential. The INS, however, had not returned any of David's phone calls. Finally, around the same time he was trying to transfer to the university, a devastating communication arrived in the mail:

> I got a letter from INS saying that my application... that I put in many years prior had been denied because my mom and my stepdad married um... two days after my birthday. My eighteenth birthday (I: 482-486).

David's younger brother was under eighteen at the time of the wedding and did qualify for citizenship. Their family is now facing a common phenomenon in the Mexican immigrant community: fractured families across and within borders comprised of citizens, authorized residents, undocumented members, and dependants simultaneously (see Rodríguez and Hagan, 2004). Communities and families of Mexican origin in the U.S. are being impacted socio-culturally, politically, economically, and even psychologically due to such phenomenon (see McGuire and Martin, 2007; Vertovec, 2004). They have an ambiguous sense of belonging and, like many immigrants in similar situations, David's family members live in constant fear that one day he could be deported.

David is aware of the injustices that may ensue from his immigrant status. For years, he has averaged over fifty work hours per week, sometimes more than sixty. His checks invariably included the mandatory tax deductions, but he was never paid the legal overtime rate for working over 40 hours a week (I: 512-518). He also felt intimidated by the overwhelming presence of the immigration police:

> ...you got more stations of the INS here, or the Border Patrol... than you got McDonald's (I: 544-545)

David decided to leave that environment. In 1995 he left for Colorado, where he worked several unskilled jobs. At one point he became a pizza delivery driver, accepting more responsibility when it came his way, and working his way up to shift manager. Two years later, he was promoted to assistant manager. Then he decided to return to the town in Arizona where his family lived. He was hired as an assistant manager at a newly opened pizza restaurant and eventually became the General Manager. His boss encouraged him to study, but David knew the university was not accessible to him, so he decided to go back to the community college "just to learn something" (II: 52-53). Then something unexpected occurred. A counselor from the university came to the community college

and invited the students in David's class to apply to transfer their credits to the university. David applied and, this time, he was admitted without further requirements.

At the university, David took as many courses as he could while continuing to work long hours. Paying for tuition continued to be a struggle and, to make the situation more difficult, David got married to an undocumented Mexican lady and they soon had a daughter. At that point, even in-state tuition was difficult to pay and his combined work and study load was beginning to affect his family life. He withdrew from the university eight classes shy of earning his bachelor's degree, but he did not withdraw his academic dreams or his passion for learning.

> I'm always learning. And I'd like to learn more… (David, I: 238-239).

> I think that… if this whole immigration debate ends and everything gets settled, I should be able to even apply for... citizenship, or even more, I don't know. I could even apply for... my own business. Or go back to school, and... I don't know. I mean, I wanted to... I don't know, I think I may have to start all over. But I don't care. I will (II: 346-350).

As a manager, David works for a large restaurant chain that has a managerial performance ranking system. He is always at the top ten in southern Arizona, sometimes in the top five. In his position, he also realizes he has the power to do positive things for the community through donations and relationships with non-profit organizations. He has raised funds for the Muscular Dystrophy Association and for the Miracle Network, an organization that helps babies who are born prematurely. He has given donations to different churches and has organized events to support diverse causes, including rehabilitation of drug abusers. Thus, David feels he is an integral part of the community in many ways, but as an immigrant he has ambiguous feelings that he describes with metaphors and analogies:

> It's like… being in a… in a limbo. 'Cuz you don't know. I mean, you are there, but you're not" (VI: 389-390).

> I am in a golden cage (I: 711-712).

David does not have a visa anymore and this entails another dilemma. He loves his father, but he cannot go to Mexico to see him. Crossing the border without documentation is now very difficult. Nevertheless, David realizes that his racial features can be an advantage in a racialized society that operates with stereotypes. He actually has crossed

the border twice to see his father and has returned to the United States. He was able to do this pretending he was an American citizen, showing his driver's license and his university identifications as proof of citizenship at the border. "All I got is my face," he explains referring to his white complexion and blue eyes. "And my English..." (I: 714). "...that was my passport" (II: 529).

The last time David crossed the border was 2002. He has not seen his father since. His wife is in a similar situation. At the time of the interview, her father was sick in Mexico, but she could not travel to see him for fear to not be able to return to her home in the U.S. David and his wife are now afraid to cross the border without documents because the anti-immigrant, anti-terrorist movement has intensified (IV: 595-596) and they have a daughter to care for in the U.S.[48] David has recurrent nightmares about being caught and sometimes his tension soars. Ironically, at the restaurant where he works, border patrol agents regularly stop by and purchase pizza. However, David looks Caucasian, speaks English very well, and is a manager. He is under the racial radar... for now.

## Rosario's story:
## "If you don't make your own way, no one will make it for you"

Rosario's story illustrates the drama of many Mexican families who have seen their economic conditions deteriorate throughout the past twenty years. Cajeme, the municipality where Rosario comes from, was a major agricultural economy from the time immediately after the Mexican Revolution through the 1970s. The Mexican government started implementing neoliberal economic policies in the early 1980s and, in 1994, signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States and Canada. Since then, different sectors of the Mexican economy have been impacted by this new competitive model in different ways. Large portions of the agricultural sector have experienced a constant decline because of the impossibility of competing with the large, highly industrialized North American corporations and because of the enormous subsidies the U.S. grants to its producers (see De Janvry and Sadoulet, 2001). Many people in the countryside, unemployed and finding little to no other option, have become undocumented immigrants to the U.S. Many urban families, like Rosario's, who used to

---

[48] This highlights the phenomenon pointed out by Massey *et al.* (2002) that "migrants" stop migrating when they have more barriers. They stay where they have the hope of improving the quality of their lives.

be connected to the agricultural sector, have been forced to find new ways to make a living (see Bacon 2004a/b).

Before that, Rosario's plans in life were very different:

> The easiest thing would be to study English and then maybe I would decide to go to Guadalajara to study Tourism. That was, as a woman, a typical career in those days. Because in Mexico they [well-to-do young ladies] had the mentality that you would get married, and what would your studies be good for? (I: 17-19).

Before Rosario was born, her father resided, studied, and worked in the United States. As a young couple, her parents lived in the United States for eight years. Like many Mexican immigrants, her mother saved money from her husband's wages and sent it to Mexico to build their first house (see Massey, 2005). When they returned to Mexico, Rosario's father established what would become a prosperous business in the agricultural transportation sector. Rosario's parents had a cautious admiration for the United States and, like other well-to-do families in Mexico, they would make trips to shop in the closest U.S. malls. They had had some rough times while in the U.S., but that was part of the past.

> My parents experienced racism when my dad worked in the United States. My mom tells me that, when they lived in Texas, they saw establishments with signs that read: "No Mexicans." (I: 170-174).

Rosario grew up in an upper middle class environment where it was not uncommon for children to be sent to the United States to learn English during the summers or, in some cases, for one or two school years. They knew that learning English was important advantage in the Mexican classist society. Thus, in the early 1980s, like some of her friends, Rosario traveled to Arizona as an international student to learn English. By this time, her father's business was declining. Rosario was sent to stay with friends of the family who resided in the poorest part of town, where a large population of Mexican origin lives.[49]

---

[49] The connections between Mexicans on both sides of the bother are very extensive. As explained above, at the end of the 1980s, around half of the Mexican adult population were related to someone living in the U.S. and one third of all Mexicans had been to the United States sometime in their lives (Massey and Espinosa, 1997).

Around 1981, with her father's permission, Rosario moved in with three friends of her age and shared living expenses. Her roommates were upper middle class Mexican students who also had come to Arizona to study English. At the time, her parents were going though an increasingly difficult economic situation and their marriage was failing. In spite of this, Rosario's parents came to Arizona very often "to check" on her. In 1982, her parents finally divorced. The same year, Mexico had the dubious honor of triggering the international debt crisis (see Soros, 1998). Many middle class and higher middle class families suffered irrevocable losses during this time, in what would prove to be one of the most challenging financial debacles in the country's history. The Mexican currency devalued by 100%, and many affluent families went bankrupt. Rosario's friends had gone back to Mexico and her family could not help her anymore, but she refused to go back to a fractured family in financial ruin. She was nineteen years old and on her own.

> The Peso exchange had jumped from twelve Pesos, fifty cents to twenty-something. We did not know what was going on. We did not know what inflation was! (I: 134-138).[50]

Rosario kept her student visa, but she stopped going to school. She suffered the rigors of poverty and found herself falling into a spiral of negative events. She experienced the rejection of a Jewish boyfriend because his mother did not like Mexicans, she had a number of relationships that ended in physical abuse, and, when her visa expired, she became an undocumented resident.[51] She experienced isolation, depression, and even food deprivation.

> In those days I suffered a lot. I suffered much loneliness. I even suffered from hunger. Even hunger, when I was alone… (I: 301-303).

Despite these challenges, Rosario never stopped trying to get ahead. She sold homemade Mexican food and Mexican jewelry to friends to support herself. In the mid-eighties, forced by their moribund economic condition in Mexico, her mother, sister, and a teenaged brother also came to Arizona. The four of them lived together in a modest apartment in a poor area of town. On one occasion, they were assaulted in the middle of

---

[50] Between the 1940s and 1970s, Mexico had experienced one of the longest periods of economic growth in the Third World and was a "paragon of political stability" in spite of dramatic population growth. In the 1980s, Mexico's economic and political systems started to decline (Smith, 1996: 83-84).

[51] Over 40% of all undocumented immigrants to the U.S. are believed to have entered with passports and simply overstayed their visas. In 2001, the Immigration and Naturalization Service found that 10% of foreign students had overstayed their visas (Hall and Sutton, 2002).

the night, inside their own home, by three criminals who forced their way into the house by breaking a glass door. The malefactors made the family lay on the floor at gunpoint and tried to get money from them. They were unsuccessful and left without hurting anyone, but the family continued to live in fear. The incident was never reported to the police.[52] Rosario worked as a nanny and as a housekeeper and, with the combined effort of the family, they were able to move to a different apartment in a nicer area of town.

Rosario wanted to be a teacher and was encouraged by a friend to attend the local community college. She was able to register without citizenship documents by proving residency in the State of Arizona, but she dropped out of her classes because of economic difficulties. In the late nineteen eighties, with the help of one of her domestic employers, Rosario applied for the Amnesty offered by the Reagan administration to undocumented workers. After legalizing her residency status in the U.S., she worked in a restaurant as a food preparer. She met a man from her hometown in Mexico and married him in 1989. After the marriage, she intended to go back to college, but her husband discouraged her. Only five months after their after wedding, he left her. Rosario had to leave the apartment where they lived and, once again, work in a restaurant. Her husband came back sporadically and she became pregnant twice in the following six years. Rosario had a daughter in 1991 and a son in 1996.

While working in the restaurant, Rosario did not have health insurance, but she managed to pay for her daughter's health policy with her meager salary. She did not know that, being a legal resident living under the poverty line, she was entitled to federal programs that could help her.

> I did not know those programs existed... I had been paying for my daughter's insurance, and now that I was pregnant I was paying 300 dollars per month (II: 70-74).

In 1996, after her son was born, she was fired from the restaurant where she had been working for years. She was openly told she could not work there while having to take care of two children.

---

[52] Political Research Associates (PRA), a think tank devoted to racial justice, notes that "fear keeps undocumented immigrants from reporting dangerous working or housing conditions and other community concerns." Apparently, this is not only true of undocumented immigrants, but also in some cases where "legal" residents are the victims of abuses or crimes (PRA, 2002).

> "You know what?" he [her employer] tells me, "We've been talking and, well, you already have two children... why don't you stay home and take care of them? ...How could they leave me without a job knowing that I had two more responsibilities [referring to her children]? (II: 38-41).

Rosario then suffered an intense post-partum depression, but was not aware of this at the time. She struggled through a very difficult time where she could barely get up in the morning. She felt worthless and isolated. Adding to her sense of worthlessness was her eventual decision, though reluctant, to ask for public aid. A friend persuaded her to ask for this benefit, which she did not know she was entitled to request. Rosario thought such aid was for "lazy people... the hippies of this country" (Interview III: 96-97). To make things worse, she fell ill and had to spend 15 days in the hospital. The hospital served as a time of reflection for her, a turning point where she decided to take positive action to improve her situation. She decided to go back to college. Rosario thought the University "was very big" for her (Interview III: 411-12). Once again, she enrolled in the community college.

> I got out of the hospital with hunger... I was hungry to be someone (II: 186-187).

> I told them [the counselors at the community college], "I want to go to school, I don't know what I want to study, but I want to do something. Something in life (II: 191-193).

At the community college, Rosario was invited to participate in a program called Women in Progress (WIPA), specifically designed for single mothers who were struggling to earn an education. Her mother supported her educational goals and helped her take care of her children while she went to school. The influence of Rosario's parents in her decisions is omnipresent throughout her narrative. She expresses a mixture of fear and respect toward her father and enormous deference toward her mother. Financially, it was only possible for her to attend the college because she was granted a scholarship from WIPA (III: 416-431). It was still very challenging; her mother could not always take care of the children. One of Rosario's instructors would allow her to attend class with her daughter if she would sit with her at the back of the classroom (III: 393-394). Her daughter colored quietly through the class.

> In the classroom, the instructor would tell me: "I don't see her" [her daughter]. Then I would try to cover her with some binders. And she would duck and stay there. She would not even make any noise (III: 320-322).

Rosario obtained a job as a student aid for the community college as she completed her Associate Degree in Business. Later, she worked in a temporary position for the college as a clerical assistant. By the time Rosario graduated in 2003, she was actively involved in the WIPA program and had taught keyboarding to some of the participants. She now works for a school district in an adult education program where she is helping other immigrants. Rosario also has formed a new family with an American citizen of Mexican ancestry who has become a putative father for her children. He has given her the choice to stay home to be a full-time mother, but she has decided to continue her work for the community.

Rosario remembers with sadness the period when she was undocumented and how afraid she was of the police, even when she had done nothing wrong. In those days she "did not know about the great racism [against immigrants], that you can now see every day" (Interview IV: 17-18). She thinks the undocumented immigrants she works with live in a constant fear to be deported (Ibid.: 30-32). She understands that fear very well:

> In the mornings, when they leave to work, they [their families] do not know if they will see them again" (Interview IV.: 38-39). ...Simply traveling from point A to point B is very scary when you do not have documents (*Ibid.*: 93-94). ...You cannot trust anyone (*Ibid.*: 112).

Laws passed recently in Arizona require students to declare their citizenship status when enrolling in higher education, and demand that educational institutions charge out-of-state tuition to undocumented residents (see Billeaud, 2007). Before these initiatives were voted in, noncitizens who could demonstrate local residency could attend the community college like any other community taxpayer. Rosario explains to me that even before these draconian laws were enacted, there were many people who wanted to attend the community college, but were afraid. They felt intimidated, even after many years of residing and paying taxes in the community, because they did not have documents (Interview IV: 398-400). Thus, Rosario participated in the immigrant protests of 2006 that took place throughout the United States to demand immigrant rights. The protests have been seen by some scholars as "the new civil rights movement" and as a phenomenon of mass, trans-national economic migration engendered by globalization (See Robinson, 2006).

> Your residency permit takes a big burden from you. Because you feel you have more liberty. Simply moving around the city... Simply going from point A to point B is very frustrating. That's why I support the marches and the boycotts. I support their struggle (IV: 72-77).

Rosario is also an active member of the Parents Association in her children's school, where she has taught some Spanish courses to children. She and her children are bilingual, but she always speaks to them in Spanish. She feels totally integrated in the community. Rosario reflects on her life in the United States and realizes that, after 25 years, she finally feels she has a stable life (III: 542-543). She has become more spiritual and acknowledges God as her greatest support in life. She believes that God made her go through hard times and helped her become familiarized with the community college and other community organizations so that she could help others succeed (IV: 566-586). But she is also very pragmatic. In her own words,

> When you are hungry to do something, or you want something in life, you break barriers down; you remove the stones from the road (III: 208-209).
>
> If you don't make your own way, no one will make it for you (III: 214).

## Roberto's Story:
## "Racism is an excuse for failure"

Roberto came to the United States as an international student in 1991 in more advantageous circumstances than Jesenia, Rosario, and David. He first enrolled at the community college in English classes and a year later in the International Business Program. As he was working on the second year of his Associate's degree, a family crisis almost brought his studies to an end. His father would no longer be able to support his studies. Roberto decided to get employment to finish his studies and was hired, without documents, at an international collections agency that collected overdue debts for American Express. Roberto was a natural at this kind of work

> They would give us [collection] goals. My first month goal was about $30,000 [U.S.] dollars and I collected $120,000 (I: 88-89).

Ironically, Roberto became a valuable employee because he could communicate very effectively with Mexican people who were in default of their international debts. A debt crisis had developed in Mexico due to the currency devaluation that devastated the

Mexican economy in 1994-1995. The national economic slump provoked personal and corporate bankruptcies throughout Mexico, a deterioration of wages, and increased emigration from Mexico to the United States (Barkin, 1997; Morris, 2001).[53] Roberto's work in the U.S. provided him the income to pay for his studies and thus he was able to earn an Associate's Degree in International Business Studies. Completing his degree was a big challenge for him, since he did not have a lot of time to study and his family was going through a difficult time. Although he graduated from the community college, his dream of studying international relations at Grand Canyon University had to be put on hold (I: 366-367).

Roberto's story is not the story of a poor immigrant who escaped poverty in Mexico, but illustrates the multifaceted phenomenon of immigration and the complex reasons why individuals become undocumented residents in the United States. It is also evident from Roberto's story that the obstacles that immigrants have to face have not always been as difficult as they are currently:

> One day, my friends and I went to the office [the Social Security Administration] because we wanted to have a driver's license. And, in order to give you the license, they would ask you for a social security [number]. And if you wanted to open a bank account, they would ask you for the social security. And for everything else... So we went to request the number. And they gave us the number. In some cases the card would read: "Valid only for work with INS permit," or something like that... and some would not (I: 133-139).

Undocumented immigrants in Arizona no longer have access to the kind of advantages Roberto enjoyed (being able to obtain employment with a noncitizen social security number and obtaining a drivers license is not possible anymore). Such advantages, combined with his determination and boldness, helped him secure jobs where he was be able to use his Spanish skills, including Hispanic customer service jobs with MCI and AOL.

> I was very lucky. But, being positive helps you the most. Because the whole world would tell me, "it's not possible, it's not possible." ...When you are positive, you have completed half of the journey toward your goals (I: 164-166).

---

[53] Arguably, the main cause of the Mexican currency crisis was the hegemonic economic influence of the U.S. –and U.S. dominated international financial institutions– over Mexico. Pressure for neoliberal economic policies, currency speculation, unregulated foreign capital flows (mainly involving U.S. investors) (see Armijo, 2001), and excessive and irresponsible lending by international banks "desperate to put money to work"(Soros, 1998: 116) provoked one of the worst economic crises Mexico has seen.

In contrast, most immigrants now feel harassed and intimidated and even Hispanics residing in the U.S. legally perceive an increase in discrimination (Suro and Escobar, 2006). Anti-immigrant legislation in Arizona and anti-Mexican racism are on the rise (De Genova, 2005; Mariscal, 2005). Nonetheless, though he has not obtained legal status to date, Roberto still has a driver's license, a business license, a bank account, and he uses his non-citizen social security number to pay taxes every year (see Porter, 2005). In 2006, his earnings were higher than expected and he did not deduct sufficient payroll tax throughout the year, thus he paid an additional $4,500 U.S. dollars at the end of the fiscal year (I: 312).

Roberto has a network of immigrant friends who came to the U.S. under different circumstances. One of them crossed the border through the desert. Another one is a U.S. citizen raised in Mexico, but he abandoned medical school in Mexico to come to the U.S. "for a better future" (I: 234-238). Another undocumented friend is a mechanic who started a successful business. After Roberto's family's economic debacle in Mexico, his sister came to Arizona and stayed with him for a while. She walked about eight miles every day, in the extreme heat of southern Arizona, so she could take care of a baby for a family that paid her 50 dollars a week (I: 220-222). As pointed out by Massey *et al.* (2002), immigrants contribute to raising the living standards of the middle class and the returns to capital. Roberto and his friends are examples of this phenomenon.

Interestingly, Roberto's brother and sister have become U.S. citizens and his parents also reside in the U.S. The whole family resides now in the same town (I: 440-442). Roberto's father has become an authorized resident while his mother has not yet regularized her immigration status. Family unification is a powerful trend among Mexican immigrants. Their challenge, as in the cases of other participants in this research, is the different immigration statuses held by the family members. Undoubtedly family unification is an impetus for immigration, while family maintenance serves as motivation to succeed. Like David and Rosario, David finds that being responsible for his family is a great motivator to succeed in spite of adversities.

> My family is an encouragement. I have two children. They are young. I want the best for them (I: 554-555).

Roberto is aware of the disdain that exists toward Mexican immigrants in some sectors of the population. He blames some of this disdain on the "sensationalist press" (I: 481-482).

To be sure, it is common to read and see images in the U.S. media that refer to horrific isolated events that involved undocumented immigrants. They are easily transformed into hate targets[54] and referred to with dehumanizing adjectives like "aliens" and "illegals" (sic).[55] Roberto also believes a lack of education plays a role in these perceptions:

> That disdain exists because of a lack of culture. A lack of knowledge, more than anything... Learned people are very polite, the great majority. And learned persons are very understanding people (I: 493-496).

Roberto displays an interesting mixture of pragmatism, realism, and optimism. He appears to discount or ignore all of the negativity and tension currently surrounding the immigration debate. The structural forces that stop undocumented immigrants from advancing are evident in the limitations he faces. He expresses frustrations about them, but he believes those who cannot succeed create their own limitations. Despite his own limitations, he expresses admiration for the cultural values of the United States and sees it as an avenue for success.

> Here, those who want to get ahead will get ahead. Those who do not want... Well, they make their own limitations (III: 72-74).
>
> American culture is more individualistic. That's why they are successful (III: 262).

At the same time, he expresses pride about his Mexican origin and is critical of perceived cultural differences between his native and his adopted county:

> Here your word is not worth anything. Here you have to write everything. And Mexicans don't do that. If someone tells you something will be done in a certain way, that's the way it will be (I: 262-264).

---

[54] On April 4, 2006, for example, radio host Brian James of KFYI a.m. in Arizona advocated murder as a way of dealing with undocumented immigrants. Among other things, he suggested that the National Guard shoot illegal immigrants and receive "$100 a head." The remarks prompted Arizona Attorney General and the U.S. Attorney to send a complaint to the Federal Communications Commission (AP, 2006).

[55] Andrés Oppenheimer (2007) has criticized "the U.S. xenophobic anti-immigration hysteria" and the widespread labeling of undocumented immigrants as "illegals." He argues that, "You may have violated a rule but that should not make you an 'illegal' person. You may have gotten a ticket for speeding, but that doesn't make you an 'illegal' human being, even if the potential harm of your reckless driving is much greater than anything done by most of the hard-working undocumented immigrants in this country" (*Ibid.*).

Roberto truly believes in the American Dream. In fact, ironically, he is the personification of the American Dream: economic improvement by his own ingenuity and hard work. He has become an entrepreneur and owns a franchise business that provides services to stranded vehicles. He contracts with insurance companies and receives calls twenty-four hours a day. He makes very good money compared to other first-generation immigrants, but he is always on call. His work ethic and determination have helped him succeed and provide for his family, but he still lives at the margins of mainstream society in many ways.

> We do not have our own house because... If I buy a house, who will benefit if I am not here? [implying the possibility of being deported] (II: 644-645)

Roberto's immigration status has been a great disadvantage, but he has demonstrated great resilience against all odds and adversities. He is an example of the entrepreneurial spirit, tenacity, and hard work that immigrants bring to the U.S. in spite of great obstacles. Like other undocumented immigrants, Roberto knows that his dreams have limits. He has become a little cynical and prefers not to waste time reflecting on explanations of immigrant disadvantage and racial inequality. After all, "racism is an excuse for failure"[56]

## Marina's story: "I am an American in the shadows"

Marina grew up in Mexico City, living there until the age of twelve. Her family was extremely poor. She lived with her parents, her maternal grandmother, and two brothers in a single room dwelling. Her father had constructed another room for the kitchen out of plastics and other discarded materials. Both of her parents worked, but the income was barely enough to survive. Then her father lost his job. Her mother's meager income was not sufficient to support the family. Desperate, the family decided to take drastic action for survival and the hope of a more secure future. Her father decided to look for work in the United States.

---

[56] Roberto expressed this statement in one of our informal conversations, before he was chosen to be a participant in this research.

Marina's father left the family to find work in the U.S. To make things easier on her mother, Marina was sent to stay with her paternal grandparents while her mother continued to work and care for the two boys. Marina's dad was able to provide for his family with his job in the United States, but the family was paying too great a price. All seemed to feel the family was disintegrating. Marina's parents decided to reunite the family and start a new life in the United States. They casually asked their children what they thought about living in the U.S. The response was not very cheerful. Thus, they told their children that, since they all had earned good grades, they would take them to Disneyland.

> We were very excited as we packed, but my mother was very melancholic as she said goodbye… And my father also. We, me at least, did not understand. Why the sadness? (I: 64-66).

Once the family reached the border, Marina's father told the children to wear comfortable clothes because they were going for a walk in the dark.

> I remember we were getting close to a barbwire. And that barbwire… My mom was pregnant… Then, my father held down the barbwire and helped my mom cross. Then my older brother crossed. And then the little one... He was only six years old then. My older brother was fifteen and I was twelve. I remember my older brother was holding the barbwire down so I could cross, but my pants got caught. Then I pulled and my pants ripped (I: 85-95).

The family walked through a deserted region and finally reached a store's parking lot on the outskirts of town where Marina's father had parked his vehicle. They drove to their final destination in southern Arizona and arrived without trouble. The next day they woke up in a little one-room apartment that would become their home, but the children did not understand that they were in another country. They wanted to know when they would go to Disneyland. Their father explained to them that he would have to make a little more money first, and then they would go. He also explained that they were now in the United States and they might have to stay there for a while.

> The neighborhood where we were… it was not very pretty. We were in an apartment… like in Mexico, it was just one room, where we lived... I… my older brother and I slept on the floor. But it was carpeted, so… it wasn't so ugly. My mom, my dad and my little brother slept in the bed. Later, my dad found a sofa and I slept on the sofa, and my older brother stayed on the floor, on the carpet (I: 136-145).

Marina's father enrolled the children in school

> He told us that we could be here and go to school, so we would know what it was like to go to school in the United States, and then we would go back to Mexico... And up to this day, I am still waiting to go to Walt Disney (I: 147-150).

Marina's transition to an American school was difficult. She discovered that most Spanish speaking children came from the northern part of Mexico and they considered her a *Chilanga*.[57] The English-speaking children, specially the girls, did not like her either. Marina remembers that she was good in sports and she often came ahead of her peers, but this only caused her more trouble.

> Even though I did not understand what the instructor was saying, I watched, so I knew I had to do exactly what the other girls were doing. But better... So, the English-speaking girls did not like that. They did not like that a girl who could not speak English was better than them in sports. ...When it was time to change clothing, they would hide my clothes, they would push me... they would say things that I did not understand. It was a time that ... was very difficult for me (I: 209-216).

A year later, in seventh grade, Marina learned to stand up for herself. She fought with some of the girls and earned a reputation as a troublemaker. She still could not speak much English, but she was already spending time in detention. She did not successfully communicate with her counselors and would often go home with bruises and other physical signs of her battles. However, by the end of the year Marina had improved her English, and her grades were also improving. She joined the Honors Society, the folkloric dance club, and a Hispanic club. But the group of girls who hassled with her continued to harass her and would even look for her after her dance class. Marina, continued to earn high grades, and still was sent to detention due to her altercations.

Marina's last two years in high school went much smoother. She became more adapted to the school environment. Marina and many other students were enthusiastic about enrolling at the university. They filled out the applications to matriculate, but Marina's application was returned due to incomplete information. A university recruiter asked her if she was a legal resident.

---

[57] Chilango/a is a Mexican slang word used to refer to a person from Mexico City or its surrounding areas. The Chilango/a adjective is usually associated with the sing-song Spanish accent spoken by people from southern Mexico. The term can have a negative connotation.

> I told him "yes," that I was a resident. I am a resident of Arizona. I had been living in Arizona for six years, so I was a resident. And when they asked me for papers, I said "what papers?" (I: 449-451).
>
> Then, when I asked my parents, they told me I was illegal (I: 461-462).

Marina was eighteen years old and she did not understand what being "illegal" really meant, but she did not give up her educational dreams. She filled out an application for the community college, but it was also rejected because of her immigration status. However, luckily, one of the community college counselors decided to help Marina achieve her educational goals. He put her in contact with another person at the institution who invited her to apply to a summer program to help high school students' transition into college. Marina enrolled in the program and started taking college classes. She had no vacation that summer, but she was finally attending the community college.

For some time, Marina experienced some negative feelings about her immigrant status. She internalized the acrimony of the immigration debate and the negativity in the media and turned it against herself. In Freirean terms, she had internalized the consciousness of the colonizer (Freire, 1970; García, 2004). She experienced self-deprecatory feelings and depression about her "legal" status. When she watched the news on T.V., she would cry when the issue of immigration was addressed. She did not want to be active and did not want to go out.

> To me, illegal… to be an illegal immigrant was the worst thing. It was worse than being a thief, worse than a drug dealer (I: 840-841).
>
> I have seen cases on T.V. where they treat them very bad. Simply because they are *illegals*… I mean, they treat them worse than animals (I: 845-847).
>
> I think a drug dealer is treated better in prison than an illegal (I: 849-851).

During her college years, Marina discovered some of the implications of her immigrant status. Arizona driver's licenses require a social security number, so she could not register for one. As a consequence, she could not drive nor be admitted to places that required identification. She could not go out with friends to night clubs and could join them on their trips to Mexico (a very popular place to visit among college students in border states like Arizona). Marina was afraid to answer questions like "where are you from?" and declined invitations to go out. Marina felt "limited" and several times she

considered leaving college. In spite of all this, she did not leave school and gradually overcame her depression.

Marina was well aware of the sacrifices her parents had made for their children and she did not want to disappoint them. (I: 625-627). Her parents and her family were her greatest sources of inspiration to finish college. Marina remembered when she was a small child her parents did not have enough money for provisions, so they would give the little food they had to their children, while they went without eating (I: 614-616). They also uprooted from their family in Mexico to give their children a better future, knowing they might never again see their parents, siblings and others dear to them. As she related her story to me, her eyes teared up as she explained:

> I try not to disappoint them because... because they want the best for us. That's why I continued studying. The community college was not easy for me. It was hard (I: 624-626).
>
> I had to show my parents that what they did was right (I: 645-646).

Extended family is very important in the Mexican culture. Thus Marina's parents also made a sacrifice by leaving their own parents and other family members in Mexico so their children could have a better future in the United States. The price they paid was extremely high. Marina's great-grandfather, grandfather, and uncle on her father's side died, but her family was not able to attend the funerals. Her father did not want to take the risk of being separated from his wife and children by not being able to cross back into the U.S. Thus, Marina's father was not able to say goodbye to his father and could not accompany his mother during these painful times.[58] Perhaps the void created by their missing extended family is the reason Marina's parents place extra importance on keeping the family together in Arizona. It seems that this sense of loss has magnified the importance of the nuclear family for them.

Marina's parents also have an extremely strong work ethic. Her father began working when he was six years old, shining shoes in Mexico City. Ever since Marina remembers,

---

[58] Restrictions on travel are not only faced by undocumented immigrants, but also by authorized permanent residents. For an excellent review on such restrictions and their potential consequences, see Morawetz (2006). Her research refers to such restrictions as an inhumane "invisible border," which is a product of anachronistic laws that place restrictions on a wide variety of situations and immigration statuses. She argues for a more humane approach that does not place noncitizens in the situation of having to choose between family responsibilities and their residence in the U.S.

he has held two and sometimes three jobs. Marina has followed her parents' example. While studying at the community college, she helped her mother as a domestic worker, cleaning houses, a job commonly held by undocumented immigrants (see Chang, 2000 and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). She would get up very early to help her mother; then would change clothes and go to class. Some days she would also help her mother after her classes. Later she would help in their home with the chores, cooking, and taking care of her two younger brothers.

Marina, like her parents, is a hard worker and was a good student at the community college. Yet she has faced adversities that not all students in her situation are able to overcome. Her undocumented status has been a constant cause of stress and has limited her ability to interact normally with the rest of the world. Without documents, she could not apply for employment that was commensurate with her studies; she was ineligible for most scholarships; and could not apply for work internships. A deficient public transportation system in the city where Marina resides also limited her ability to get to college or work, and she could not drive for lack of a driver's license. For the same reason, she frequently had difficulty meeting with other students to work on group projects. It was the cumulative effect of the obstacles Marina confronted day after day that almost made her leave college, but she persevered.

Marina has held jobs that are typically held by undocumented workers. She worked as a domestic worker, as an office cleaner, and in a couple of service sector jobs where she was eventually dismissed because of her invalid social security number. Marina had to try to reconcile the discordant reality of an upbringing in the United States, where the ideals of equality and justice for all are constitutional rights, yet finding herself excluded from that world:

> They are exploiting you... you know they are exploiting you, but you do nothing. ... It's not because you can't, but because you feel impotent and you're afraid (II: 345-348).

Finally, Marina found employment in a little store that belongs to the community college counselor who helped her enroll in college. Marina and her mother had already worked for him and his wife as domestic workers. At first, the hours were scarce, but as the business improved she was able to work more. At the time of the interview, Marina was working about forty-nine hours per week with no insurance and no overtime pay.

Nevertheless she felt very grateful to her employers because they treated her with respect and she earned above the minimum wage.

As the store attendant, Marina has found that some clients do not like her accent. She has experienced some insecurity and self-doubt because of this, but she has also become more resilient. In fact, she has a hard time thinking of herself as an immigrant:

> What I know about Mexico is very vague. I grew up here. My friends, my first boyfriend, my education… I have had everything in the United States. It is a little difficult for me to say I am an immigrant (III: 18-21).
>
> I am an American in the shadows (III: 558-559).

Marina, like Rosario, participated in the national marches for immigration reform in April and May, 2006. When she arrived at the first gathering, she saw the thousands of people who were participating and could not contain her tears. Marina realized her cause had the support of many people. Marina took part in three marches and, after her first experience, she began encouraging friends and other undocumented people to participate. On May first, 2006, the date of a major pro-immigrant march, one of her undocumented friends was offered a two hundred dollar bonus if she agreed to work rather than protest. The friend rejected the offer. Marina's employers did not oppose her participation in the protests. Marina was proud to see war veterans and some of her high school teachers in the march. Suddenly, her hopes for "legalization" were more optimistic.

Marina has wisely stated: "It is better to be persistent than to be naturally smart" (III: 312-313). Incredibly, she has earned four Associate Degrees from the community college. Recently, I received an e-mail from Marina where she confided that she had not been paid for two months. The business is not doing well, sales are down, and she is starting to feel desperate. At the same time, the anti-immigrant sentiment is running high in Arizona, while immigration reform has been stuck in Congress. Her courage and determination are being tested once again.

## Justo's Story: "There are no limits"

Justo's family, like Rosario's, was the victim of one of the recurrent Mexican financial crises. Justo's father was a prosperous businessman in the state of Sonora until he lost everything during the economic crisis of 1994. From a position of relatively high socioeconomic status, his father lost his businesses, the family house, and his vehicles. His parents considered the options: staying in Mexico, with the national economy in ruins, and coming to the U.S. Their situation was so desperate that, even without work permits, the U.S. seemed to grant them the greatest chance for success. In the end, the family came to the U.S. for the same fundamental reason that pushes the great majority of Mexicans to emigrate: economic survival.

Growing up, Justo was a timid child who stuttered and did not have friends to play with during his school breaks (I: 1019-1021). However, he was born in a more privileged environment than most immigrants. At twelve years of age, Justo had the benefit of attending a bilingual (Spanish/English) school in Mexico, so language was not the main challenge he would confront in the U.S. Justo's family also had an advantage that most destitute immigrants do not posses. Although they did not have work permits, the family had traveled in and out of the U.S. many times in the past, and used their passports and visitor's visas to cross the final time. Nonetheless, the traumatic experience of losing everything and then moving to an unknown environment in search of an uncertain future was only the beginning of the new challenges they would face.[59]

Justo's father had owned a car washing businesses in Mexico and his brother-in-law owned a similar business in Arizona. Thus, the first job Justo's father found in the U.S. was washing cars. He went from being the owner of such a business to a less-than-minimum-wage earning laborer. His family found themselves living under the official poverty line in his adopted country. The minimum wage in Arizona was $4.15 per hour. Justo's father was paid $2.15 per hour. That was a very painful situation to

---

[59] It has been argued that self-selection by migrants usually means that they are especially resourceful, entrepreneurial and ambitious (The Economist, 2001). Research also has found that "when Mexican economic crises occur, they lead to more out-migration and to relatively more skilled immigrants" (Orrenius and Zavodny, 2001: 22). Additionally, in a study at the University of Chicago (Chiquiar and Hanson, 2005) that utilized the 1990 and 2000 Mexican and U.S. population censuses, they found that Mexican immigrants in the United States are more educated on average than nonmigrants in Mexico.

witness for Justo, who expresses great admiration for his father's determination and stoicism. This is one source of Justo's inspiration:

> He would never... complain. He would get home after working fifteen hours... After that job, he had another one at Jack in the Box for three years, and he once had one shift of twenty-two consecutive hours. So, my dad is the type of man who'd never complain. And I did not want to inconvenience him; I would never talk about how I was aware that he... suffered, when he went into his room and, obviously sore after the day's work... especially during the winter, when he had to wash cars. And... and my uncle would lose his workers, except my dad. Because he needed the work. Then, well... he [his uncle] would take his tips, half of them... In other word, it was a complete abuse (I: 139-148).

Justo witnessed how his father suffered the plight of many undocumented immigrants, where they are abused and exploited, but feel like they cannot do anything about it. Justo felt frustration, but focused on the best choices he had as a seventh grader in a new country: school and sports. By ninth grade he was running track and playing football and basketball. He was good in sports, he became the captain of his football team, and began receiving scholarship offers from different universities, including Washington State University. However, without "legal" residency status in the U.S., Justo could not dream of accepting them. Nevertheless, Justo thought football could be a way to regularize his immigration status and he trained hard... until he suffered a career-ending injury to his shoulder.

After three years of hard training, Justo was devastated to learn that his football dreams would never be. But he was able to find motivation in new activities. He kept working hard academically and, with other five high school friends, founded a club they called *Voces de la Juventud Hispana* (Voices of Hispanic Youth). The objective of the organization was to inform Hispanic students about their choices in higher education and to encourage them to stay in school. Then, Justo reveals an amazing fact: The six founding members and many students in *Voces de la Juventud Hispana* were undocumented students.

> The leaders... We were six leaders, the board members, it was six of us who founded the club, and... none of them had documents (I: 352-353).

Justo's internal drive, his advocacy and agency to help others, appear ironic. He was creating a positive effect in the community irrespective of his or their status. He was only sixteen or seventeen years old then. He had a fearless determination to make something

of himself. But Justo was not exempt from the constant fear and stress undocumented immigrants experience:

> When you don't have documents, even the guards in the mall make you nervous. That is, you think... everybody is looking at you. You don't want to argue about things, you don't want to be noticed... more noticed that what it's necessary. Because... because you feel vulnerable to everything (I: 406-410).

Finally, the church Justo's parents attend helped the family immigrate as religious workers, and the whole family became "legalized" in December of 1999. Up to that point Justo's father had been doing side jobs like washing cars and fixing the vehicles of church members, handyman jobs and gardening... and he was also paying taxes. Justo kept working hard academically, with the added incentive that he could now go to college. But even after regularizing his immigration status, Justo was not exempt from the subtle influences of institutionalized racism. He felt ashamed of his accent and was quiet in class, but two of his teachers encouraged him by focusing on his strengths.

> "I see something in you," he told me. "I see something... something you have not taken advantage of" (I: 505-506).

> And sometimes I did not have an A, but he would tell me: "I know you can." So, he pushed me. He pushed, and pushed, and pushed. ...He was always well dressed. He was a leader in his Baptist church. He was... he was someone you would not expect would care so much for an immigrant student from Mexico (I: 513-517).

Justo graduated from high school with honors and received the recognition of Business Student of the Year. He has developed the ability to extrapolate experiences from different dimensions of his life and turn them into inspiration in other areas. His main positive influences in life, he reveals, are his parents, his church doctrine, and sports (I: 599-601). He switches his narrative to English and explains to me how his football coach taught him a lesson that he now applies in al areas of his life:

> He [the coach] said, "You know why I'm yelling at you?" I answered. "Because I went the wrong way." Then he said, "No, because you did it half speed." He said. "In my team, you do everything full speed. If you go the wrong way, I don't give a shit," he said, "you go full speed. If you go the right way, you go full speed. I would rather you go the wrong way full speed, than go the right way half speed. You never do things half speed in my team (I: 563-5569).

> I have never forgotten. Then, I thought... if I'm not going the right way with this college thing, at least I'm gonna' go at it full speed (I: 579-581).

Justo earned a scholarship to start his higher education at the community college. Like Marina and Jesenia, he started taking college classes in a summer program designed to help students transition into college. In one of his developmental education classes,[60] he experienced his first big challenge in college. It had nothing to do with his academic skills or with his ability to do the work. His Reading class instructor accused him of giving the answers to another student –his girlfriend at the time– when Justo was borrowing a pencil from her during a test. The instructor even accused a third Mexican student who was sitting next to Justo and his girlfriend during the test. Justo tried to speak with the instructor, but she refused to talk with him

> "I'm gonna' write a letter to the president of this campus," she told me. "I will make sure everybody knows what kind of a person you are, and make sure your ass never comes back here again," she told me (I: 703-706).
>
> And I was very scared because she said, "Your academic life is over." She said, "Once it's on your record, you can't come back here or any college in this state. I'm gonna' make sure that happens." *She told me*,[61] "I'm gonna' make sure your ass never comes back to college again" (I: 712-715).
>
> "I don't talk to people your kind," she said. "So leave my office now. Leave my classroom now." (I: 727-728).

Justo did not understand processes at the college and assumed that he was going to be expelled. As this was happening, he had an interview for a job as a maintenance worker at the college. He was going to withdraw his application, but his mother encouraged him and insisted that he should not miss the interview. He was hired. At the end of the semester, students in his Reading class met with the instructor so she could explain their final grades. The three students involved in the incident were summoned by the instructor. She had asked a campus police officer to be present in the classroom while she spoke with the students. Justo still gets disturbed when he remembers the incident:

---

[60] Among other things, developmental education courses are designed to address academic preparedness and to help students overcome affective barriers to learning. Developmental education is supposed to be sensitive and responsive to cultural differences and special needs among learners. One of the main goals of developmental education is to enhance the retention of students in college (National Association for Developmental Education: www.nade.net).

[61] Most of Justo's interview was in Spanish, but he switched to English when it felt more comfortable. Like Jesenia, he inserted small Spanish phrases in the middle of his English narrations, or vise versa. However, unlike Jesenia, he would try to speak completely in English or fully in Spanish. His diction was more sophisticated in English and he did not want to speak *Spanglish*.

> *And she told us,* "I'm giving you an F for the course because you cheated in the class." And we explained again, "We didn't cheat." "Well," she said, "After this meeting, you're going to be escorted out of the college by this police officer..." "And... he's here for my protection," ... "and to make sure that you leave the campus and you don't come back," she said. And then she called the police officer. She had the officer in the room, next to us. Like if we were criminals... (I: 764-771).

The instructor added a statement that was supposed to appear magnanimous to the students, but it was probably meant to assure her they would not appeal her decision:

> She told us, "What I'm gonna' do is I'm going to give you the F," she said, "and not report the incident." "I'm not going to report this incident." (I: 774-776).

Justo felt embarrassed and felt that everybody was looking at him and his two friends as cheaters. His first thought was that he was disappointing the people who helped him get to college, his parents, his teachers, his counselors. They tried to go straight to one of their counselors to explain to him what was happening. The police officer followed them around campus and he finally told them they had to leave. Justo's friends were crying and he felt like his future was crumbling in front of him. They felt humiliated, intimidated and powerless as they left the campus escorted by a police officer. Their instructor was not only working against them, but trying to remove any recourse they could have to appeal her actions. Once again, Justo's parents were a source of support that encouraged and helped him go through an exhausting appeal process that lasted many months. He was "terrified" of his instructor (I: 836), but he submitted a grade appeal and filed discrimination charges against her.

Justo had to cope with the appeal process as he went through the following semester and worked in his new job. Initially, the Division Dean reviewed Justo's work and the parties were convened with supporting witnesses. Justo's witness was a Chicana instructor who made it clear he was an outstanding student. The Dean decided that Justo deserved an A in the class, but the Reading instructor disagreed and appealed the decision to the Chief Academic Officer. The Division Dean's decision was upheld, which apparently hurt the instructor's pride. She appealed once again, this time to the Campus President. Eight months after the case was open, the President himself reviewed Justo's work and ruled in his favor. By then, Justo had straight As in all his classes and he had become a member of *Phi Theta Kappa.* After all, it appeared his instructor had chosen a very studious immigrant to persecute.

In retrospect, Justo sees this ordeal as a "blessing" (I: 889) because it helped him meet other college staff and administrators. The Campus President invited Justo to be part of a campus renovation committee representing the students' perspective. Later he ran for and was elected Campus Student President (the first immigrant to hold that office), and finally he became the student representative for the whole District at the community college Board of Governors meetings. Through these activities, he earned scholarships that helped pay for his tuition and materials. It took Justo three years to finish his Associates Degree at the community college, where he earned six scholarships, one for each semester. Not surprisingly, Justo graduated with honors.

In Justo's view, if you work hard enough, you can do anything. It is difficult to think of someone who could be a better exponent of what the media sells as "American values." His spirituality has been a strong support for him, but he does not expect God to resolve issues for him.

> There are no limits. If you truly want something, you can achieve it in this country. This is the country of opportunity (I: 377-378).

> I have learned that... God blesses those who work hard (I: 594-595).

> Since I was a little boy, I would tell God, "Father," I used to say, "I will do my part, and I hope you do yours. Let's go fifty and fifty on this." (I: 1003-1005).

In his last year of community college, Justo was selected for the All-Arizona and All-USA Academic Teams, for which each year two graduating students are selected to represent the college. The students earn state-wide recognition in the media and are awarded a two-year scholarship to the student's choice of one of the three state universities. Justo earned a full scholarship to attend the University of Arizona. Additionally, through his activities at the university and through his own perseverance, Justo was able to secure other small scholarships from diverse sources including the Hispanic Scholarship Fund, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute (CHCI), and a *Phi Beta Kappa*.

Once in the university Justo went "full speed" Into his studies and activities. He was a speaker at the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity, (NCORE). The community college invited him to do several motivational speaking presentations to potential

students. He also became involved in Students In Free Enterprise (SIFE), a student organization where he participated in national competitions promoting entrepreneurial innovations with a social perspective. His desire to help others is reflected in the activities he chose to be involved in, for example a SIFE program that taught university students smart personal finances and how to use credit wisely. In the midst of all his successes, Justo remained attached to his culture and identity. As he was starting his university experience, one of his acquaintances of Mexican origin, who was not particularly proud of being of Mexican descent, approached him:

> He was teasing me and he said, "Hey, you're proud of being Mexican, right?" And I said, "Yeah, yeah." Then he said, "Well, here's something for you Hispanics," He gave me an application for CHCI. The Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. And he said, "It's due in a week…" "I saw it, and... I know that you're all proud, and you're all *raza*," "So, uh, you know, so you go ahead and try it out. Maybe you'll like it" (I: 1363-1369).

A summer internship program in the US Congress sounded like an exciting idea to Justo. He was not accepted the first time he applied, but his mother encouraged him to apply the following year. Justo rewrote his essays and resubmitted his application. He was accepted.

> All the people there were from Stanford, Harvard, Yale, all of them. And me, from the community college. …The only community college and, well, almost no one from state universities, they all came from Ivy Leagues… (I: 1417-1423).

Justo was the only immigrant and the only non-citizen in the group. That year, he was chosen by his student cohort to represent them in addressing the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. Later, Justo applied for a CHCI scholarship and he received it. He also became the president of SIFE, where he participated in international projects teaching computer skills and entrepreneurial principles to children in Mexico. In 2004, he was one of four students selected by the U.S. Department of State to assist in the development of a SIFE team in Egypt. In 2005, Justo graduated *Cum Laude* with a Baccalaureate in Political Science. In 2006, he was selected to become a Public Policy Fellow at the CHCI. He was part of an exclusive group of 20 students from across the United States who worked as legislative assistants for nine months in the House of Representatives.

Recounting all of Justo's successes and adventures would take more than a few pages. Interestingly, his voyage to Egypt, representing the US Department of State, was as a

"legal" U.S. resident, with a Mexican passport. In 2006. Justo was the first in his family to become a U.S. citizen. He makes clear his admiration and love for the United States in our interview. However, his identity and sense of family are inextricably Mexican. As the oldest child, he feels responsible to and for his family, especially for his younger sisters and even his cousins:

> ...my little cousins, they look up to me, you know. And when I go to their birthday parties, they want to take a picture with me, and that's exciting for them. (II: 81-84)
>
> I always felt that... it's not only about me [alluding to the responsibility he feels toward his family] (II: 96).

Justo tells me that he does not really feel like a foreigner, but he does see himself as an immigrant (IV: 210). He is proud of his Mexican roots. He thinks people of Mexican origin and immigrants like him have much to contribute to the United States (IV: 45-46).

> To be an immigrant is to be different, always going against the tide... But that is my normal lifestyle (IV: 119-120)
>
> I have a strong heritage. I know where I come from. And because I know where I come from, I have a strong culture, I know where I'm going (II: 127-129).

At the same time, Justo's strong determination and confidence do not blind him to the reality of prejudice and bigotry. Perhaps even he, at times of weakness, has been the victim of internalizing a colonizing, racialized conscience:

> Sometimes, in college, when I was about to enter an elevator, and I saw only Anglos inside, I felt... insecure. ...I used to think "How is a Mexican going to stop that elevator and make it late? (II: 299-305)
>
> ...even the word "immigrant." You don't even have to... add illegal, or undocumented, or... whatever term they use, it's just that word, I think it has a negative connotation to it. It's just saying... you are an outsider. They stereotype it as, what are you doing here? You know, "you may study, but you're probably on a Hispanic scholarship" kind of thing, or... "if you're not," you know, "you should be working somewhere else," ... there're some fields where they're not used to seeing Hispanics. (IV: 249-255).

Justo is aware that prejudice and racism are simply "ignorance" (II: 382). He actually has experienced that ignorance within the Hispanic, the Mexican, and the Chicano communities as well. Justo feels it is useless to dwell on this and complain about it. He

just pushes forward and fights it where he can. He focuses on the positive, on his goals, and his commitment to the community where his family lives.

> If we always would dwell on discrimination... Ugh! Where would we be now? We would be in a hole, crying and... nothing. Because it's everywhere (IV: 827-829).

> I have high goals. I'm... not even halfway done with what I want to do. Sometimes I look at me and I say, "I'm twenty-four and I'm behind... behind schedule here" (II: 124-126).

Unquestionably any community in the United States would benefit from Justo's presence. For him, there is one thing that reaffirms his belonging to the community where he now lives with his wife. He explains to me with pride:

> There is nothing that makes you more part of a community than having graduated from the community college (IV: 393-394).

# COUNTER-MEMORIES AND SILENT VOICES TOWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF COUNTER-HISTORY

> People make their own history under conditions not of their own choosing (Karl Marx quoted by O'Toole, 2000).
>
> Making history is a way of producing identity insofar as it produces a relation between that which supposedly occurred in the past and the present state of affairs. The construction of a history is the construction of a meaningful universe of events and narratives for an individual or collectively defined subject (Friedman, 1992: 837).

As discussed in previous chapters, counter-story telling has been utilized by critical race theorists as a method of telling the stories of those whose voices have been marginalized by the dominant discourse and to challenge the stories and dominant ideology of those in power (Love, 2004; Nebeker, 1998; Solorzano and Yosso, 2000/2001/2002). The following analysis examines selected excerpts from the stories elicited by this research in the context of the five themes explored through the literature review and other readings discovered throughout the three years this work has entailed. The narratives of the participants represent counter-stories of survival, perseverance, struggle, and success as they navigated economic, linguistic, social, and cultural challenges in a community college in Arizona and in the larger community in general. Their memories corroborate and augment previous research in the five dimensions investigated in the Review of Relevant Literature, while they reveal other findings that may stimulate further qualitative research of undocumented immigrant students.

## Race, Class, and Discrimination: *"Ni de aquí ni* from there"

The Volume Library, an encyclopedia published in New York in 1928, confidently explained: "One reason for Mexican poverty is the predominance of its racial inferiority" (quoted by Fuentes, 2004). A new wave of anti-Mexican and "legally sanctioned racism" emerged in the late 20th century with the anti-immigrant movement in southern California (Bandhauer, 2001; Johnston, 2001), which has spread nationwide in the dawn of the 21st century (De Genova, 2004/2005; Mariscal, 2005; Pulido, 2007). In increasingly adverse surroundings, the participants in this research have revealed different levels of awareness

of their racialized environment. Clearly Rosario has inherited the memory shared by many people of Mexican origin through her parents:

> My mother and father lived through racism when my father worked here in the United States. Because my mother tells us that, when they lived in Texas, they had signs saying "No Mexicans"... (I: 220-224).

Rosario realizes that survival is not becoming easier for immigrants and anti-Mexican racism makes it more difficult:

> When I was studying in the community college, I had the opportunity to get a driver's license. That was my only I.D. when I did not have any papers... that made me feel a little less stressed. But, I remember in 1982 I was stopped by a police officer, my first ticket... I was shaking. He gave me a ticket and I was terrified. And in those days there wasn't so much racism... (breathes deeply)... These days, if the police stop you, they can call immigration. There wasn't this great racism you can see day to day (IV: 8-15).[62]

In contrast, Roberto did not appear too concerned about the racial frictions in the state of Arizona. He is a firm believer in the "American Dream":

> Interviewer:
> Are you sometimes concerned about your children... growing up in this environment, where we have these situations...
>
> Roberto:
> No, because everybody can have their own beliefs and everyone thinks differently. And that's what makes this country great... (III: 66-70).

Roberto has a strong personality and he is determined to succeed. He is not afraid of challenges and prefers not to reflect too profoundly on racial issues or abstract concepts. As it became evident throughout our interview, his entrepreneurial spirit is a powerful force that emerged in many of his answers. At first, he appeared to be mostly aloof to the institutionalized or legally sanctioned forms of racism that have hindered his dreams to continue his higher education and to work for a multinational corporation. Nevertheless,

---

[62] In 2005, the voters of Arizona passed Proposition 100, a new law that allows local police departments to detain undocumented immigrants without the right to bail. One of the consequences of this law is that undocumented immigrants can be incarcerated indefinitely for any reason (like a minor traffic violation) as they wait to be remitted to the USCIS jurisdiction. Thus, if a detained immigrant wants to appeal the charges for a minor offense, he or she would have to go through the appeals process while incarcerated (Ramos Cardoso, 2007). The Arizona Public Defender Association (APDA) has released an official comment (2007) criticizing Proposition 100 for its "violation of [the defendants] due process rights" (9) and for its "constitutional infirmities" (12).

Roberto made an interesting remark that revealed his own perception of racism as he criticizes the legal barriers to gay marriage.

> Racism is very strong because marriage has to be between a man and a woman... It is something that flows throughout this country... religion is a very powerful force (III: 759-762).[63]

Roberto also is aware of the power of the media, the manipulation of images, and perceptions surrounding the immigration debate. He illustrates this referring to the pro-immigrant marches where thousands of people, including junior and high school students, took to the streets of Tucson and many cities across the nation:

> For example, in the case of immigrants, what did they do? They focused on the white people who were supporting the Mexicans... I did not go, but those you saw in the news were the white people. ...Then, there was a group who gathered in front of the Mexican Consulate and burned the Mexican flag. It was like six or seven, but they got a lot of coverage (III: 790-804).

For Roberto, this is just the way things are and "those who want to get ahead will get ahead" (III: 72-73). As pointed out by Delgado (2006) and Ladson Billings (1998), Roberto feels this is possible in an environment where some of the societal actions, expectations, and norms that disadvantage him appear "normal." He sees racial tensions as the result of political maneuverings and machinations:

> Roberto [about racial tensions]:
> More than anything it is a political issue. It's a tool for reelection (III: 48-49).

In a society that is "obsessed with racial/ethnic politics" (Fina, 2000: 155), Roberto's perspective is not surprising. As narrated in his life-history, he also views racial conflict as the result of ignorance rather than a manifestation of oppression. From a CRT perspective, whether it is recognized or not, the concept of "race" has become a metaphor for "disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division far more threatening to the body politic than biological 'race' ever was" (Toni Morrison quoted by Ladson-Billings, 1998: 8). In that sense, David made some conceptual connections that revealed his understanding of class and race relations, while

---

[63] Interestingly, researchers point out the effort of progressive gay and lesbian political movements to link the struggle against homophobia to social movements against racism, sexism, and economic injustice (D'Emilio, 2000: 46). It appears that they would find a strong advocate in Roberto.

unveiling his personal process of conscientization about inegalitarian educational opportunity:

> David:
> ...in Mexico most people think that if you're a good student you should go to school. Rather than if you're a Native American or an Indian, you should go to school. In Mexico it's more towards [people's aptitudes]...
>
> ...In America, it was different. I mean, here they were saying, "you know what? Not everybody has the same chance in America. It's not the same." And I kept thinking, well, that's the stupidest thing I ever heard. Why would they do that? Not knowing the history of the country, um... I remember that, a lot. 'Cuz I kept saying, well, it should be based on grades. But once I went to the university, I noticed... they were right (I: 322-331).
>
> Interviewer:
> So you changed...
>
> David:
> 'Cuz you're not the same! I changed my ... my perspective.
>
> Interviewer:
> Tell me what you think about affirmative action.
>
> David:
> Well, I'll tell you... uh, it shouldn't be based on race. I think it should be based on income to begin with. Because what I did learn in college was that there were a lot of Mexicans, too. I mean, it was real minimal, compared to the [Whites]... I believe when I was there maybe six or seven percent were Hispanics... students at the university. And um... I do remember that some of those Hispanic students were pretty rich. They were pretty well off. Well, I mean, I worked at... that pizza place [as a manager], where I had students... where I had my cooks, that were working their butts off to go through high school. But when they graduate, they're not going to have money to go to the university. (I: 332-344)
>
> ...a lot of the students at the university were pretty well off. I mean, they're driving these brand-new SUV's, the BMW's, it's not fair... it's not the same... for a guy that's working sixty five hours a week (I: 362-364)

David also understands that students are the beneficiaries of preferential treatment for other reasons besides socioeconomic class:

> I remember I was in a class with Professor Wilkinson, and uh, there was a student from Mexico. And he was a diver for the university team... the University of Arizona team. He was never in the classes. Never. And he got a B. And I worked my butt off to get a B in his class (I: 346-348).

Students from Mexico represent the third largest group of international students in the nation's community colleges (4% of the total) and the seventh largest foreign group in all

types of educational institutions combined (Institute of International Education, 2006). The great majority of international students of Mexican origin in the US are likely to come from private educational institutions in Mexico and from economically prosperous families that can afford the expense. This fact adds to the complexity of the student population of Mexican origin. In the southwestern US, for example, the large population of Mexican descent sometimes inadvertently perpetuates racial and class divisions imported from Mexico (Rojas, 2001), where the social pyramid is generally whiter at the top and darker at the base.[64]

Jesenia, Justo, and Marina, who graduated from high schools in Arizona, made reference to perceived class differences among students of Mexican origin as they navigated through the educational system. Marina, who came from Mexico City and had a distinct southern Mexican accent when she started school in Arizona, narrated the difficulties she had trying to be accepted by her peers of Mexican origin:

> Marina:
> When they asked me where I was from and I said from Mexico City (sighs)… At that time, most of the kids here came from Nogales, Agua Prieta, Hermosillo, Magdalena [cities in the northern part of Mexico]… and I am from Mexico City. I am a hundred percent Mexican, but I was a weirdo for them (I: 183-183).
>
> Then... I am a weirdo for my own...
>
> Interviewer:
> Co-nationals… [the original word I used in Spanish was: *connacioneles*]
>
> Marina [rectifying]:
> *Mexican* co-nationals.
>
> ...For a while I was struggling, trying to… to be accepted. First by the Mexicans… …And then, I tried to be accepted by the English speakers, but they never accepted me. I always had a problem with the girls (I: 191-204).

---

[64] Mexico has a population of 107.5 million (CIA, 2006) and a society that self-defines as *Mestizo*, a word from Latin meaning "mixed." The country has 56 officially recognized autochthonous ethnic groups (*indios*). The Spanish Conquest of Mexico and subsequent Colonial period (1521-1821) brought the first European settlers. Later came immigrants from other European nations (French, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Russians, and others) and from other continents (Africans, Arabs, Asians, Jews). About 60% of Mexico's population is *Mestizo* with a wide range of phenotypes, about 30% Amerindian (*indios*) or predominantly Amerindian, 9% white, and 1% other (CIA, 2006). During the Colonial period a *de jure* and *de facto* caste system was established in the "New Spain" (Mexico), where racial classification was defined based on the purity of European whiteness in each individual. This system, which Ramón Gutierrez has referred to as "Pigmentocracy" (quoted in Ruiz, 2004), categorized citizens in over 100 different castes, each one with different privileges and restrictions. Today, racism against *indios* is still widespread in Mexico and they constitute the poorest and most disadvantages minorities in most parts of the country (Castellanos Guerrero, 2001). The net migration rate is – 4.32 migrants/1000 population (CIA, 2006). The great majority of those migrants come to the United States.

Marina's use of emphasis when specifying that she was not accepted by her *Mexican* co-nationals was a clear assertion of the fact that she also has US co-nationals, which is a revealing aspect of her identity to be discussed below. Jesenia also experienced similar divisions:

> And you would see the Mexicans gathering over here. Over there you would see the blacks, and over there the Chicanos. And the preppies would gather somewhere else. The preppies were the ones who had money. Sometimes there would be Chicanos, there were some blacks, and they would gather apart somewhere (III: 19-822).

The importance of belonging to a particular social class has been studied by Bender and Ruiz (1974) in explaining underachievement and "underaspiration" among Mexican-American and Anglo students. In their study, they refer to "demographic research" that shows a correlation between belonging to "lower socioeconomic classes" and poor performance in the educational arena. Bender and Ruiz do not arrive at definite conclusions regarding this interrelationship. Nevertheless, they conclude that, regardless of race and class, one of the strongest variables to predict educational achievement is the measure of students' "internal control" (53).[65] Interestingly, Jesenia, Marina, and Justo disclosed feelings of non-belonging and difficulties being accepted by different groups, while David was a loner focusing on his work and studies. The six participants, however, appear to have a strong internal locus of control, judging by their determination, positive attitude in the face of adversity, and determination to be successful in school and beyond. At the same time, there is awareness among the participants that they operate in a racialized environment, where phenotype and other racial categories can be important factors in their sense of belonging. David expressed it simply when narrating how he once escaped being detected by immigration officials:

> ...the fact that I look kinda' white helped me (David, I: 692-693).

It also became evident from the narratives in this research that Mexican immigrants can potentially be judged and discriminated against from all sides, including those they consider part of their own group, creating a perception that they do not fit anywhere. Justo touched on another dimension that illustrates the perceived differences among

---

[65] Bender and Ruiz utilize the concept of internal locus of control "to describe the extent to which an individual believes –or does not believe– that he is able to exercise control over the direction of his personal life" (51).

people of Mexican origin and the challenges immigrants face in their effort to reconcile class and race divisions. He expressed his discomfort and frictions with Mexican officials in one of the Mexican Consulates in Arizona when he requested a passport. When Justo was invited by the Department of State to travel to Egypt with three other students, he was already a "legal" resident in the US. However, since he was still not eligible for a U.S. passport, he had to request a Mexican passport in order to travel abroad. Going through the process to obtain his passport made Justo aware of socio-cultural cleavages he did not know existed:

> Justo [referring to racial divisions]
> ...that exists everywhere. In all kinds of people, not only in other races against us. Unfortunately you can see it a lot of among our own people. And then you have those situations that happen because... for example, my Spanish is not perfect... I don't know all the words and so, many times... to be perfectly frank with you, where they have made me feel the worst is in the Mexican Consulate. When I've been there and I have used the wrong word, I have been corrected. I have been told that's not the way it's said in Spanish. "That's incorrect Spanish." "Are you sure you're Mexican," they've asked me (IV: 616-623).

This experience was obviously hurtful for Justo and perhaps it damaged his sense of identity as a *Mexican*. He felt discriminated against by those he thought felt equal to him.

> And they corrected me one time after another... You know, when you encounter people like that, it feels like discrimination coming from your own people, you know what I mean? So, a friend and I had a joke; we used to say: "Ni de aquí ni *from there,*" because many times you feel attacked from two fronts (IV: 632-637)

The phrase "ni de aquí ni *from there"* (neither from here, nor from there) is a clever way to combine English and Spanish in a play with words that paraphrases a popular saying in Spanish: *Ni de aquí ni de allá.*[66] The phrase captures the sense of "otherness" that immigrants face on both sides of the border and offers a glimpse at the multifarious contexts they have to navigate. As the dominant society imposes a "second border" on immigrants based on their differences (Morales, 2002: 117), frequently Mexicans in the US impose barriers on themselves based on socioeconomic status, birth origin, and language. Since more than four in ten people of Mexican origin in the U.S. are

---

[66] *Ni de aquí ni de allá* (translated as "not from here, not from there") is also a popular Mexican-American rap song by Jae-P. The CD cover reads: *Dos mundos, dos lenguas, una voz* (Two worlds, two languages, one voice). The song is online at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DJUBGa9Faps. Similarly, *Ni de aquí ni de allá* (1987) is the title of a border film produced in Mexico, focusing on the immigration problem and emphasizing abuses against Mexican immigrants in the US (Iglesias, 2003: 192)

first-generation immigrants (U.S. Census, 2002/2007). Mexico's social structure is a powerful point of reference for many of them. Their societal reference is an enormously inegalitarian country[67] where people –and predominantly the indigenous population– face great socioeconomic and education disadvantages based on class, gender, and race prejudices (Castellanos, 2001; Flores-Crespo, 2007). Rosario talked about the classist and genderized inequalities in her Mexican community, before she emigrated:

> ...there in Mexico they [young well-to-do women] think that you will get married, and so what will education do for you? Then, as a woman one always has a dream, right? You will find your prince charming... So, what for? One doesn't think about the future, especially when you are sixteen or seventeen (I: 20-24).

Interestingly, the two participants who have been able to obtain their "legal" immigration status and naturalized citizenship, Rosario and Justo, came from the upper middle class in Mexico. Their families became financially bankrupt before they emigrated to the US, but as suggested by López and Stanton-Salazar (2001) research, they may have developed the social practices, attitudes, and relationships that have helped them succeed. More research would be necessary to explore this connection, but social capital certainly appears to be a factor in the facilitation of educational achievement (Gibson and Bejínez, 2002; Grant, 2005; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995). Conceivably, some of the social networks and practices that have served as "capital" for Justo and Rosario operate transnationally (Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2003). The role of Justo's church in his "legalization" and his reaction and determination to fight against a perceived injustice when he was threatened by his instructor illustrate his use of social capital.

> I could have become depressed. But to fight, to struggle, always gives you good results... It always will give you some kind of result. In this case, it brought a great number of blessings (I: 887-889).

Obviously, as explained above, in spite of great faith and determination, young Mexican immigrants not only could face the racially hegemonic system in the United States, but

---

[67] Based on the three most utilized income distribution measures (the Gini coefficient, the Theil index, and the General Entropy index), Mexico is one of the most inegalitarian societies in the world (Brandolini and Smeeding, 2006; De Hoyos, 2005). Although Mexico is a relatively rich country among developing nations, extremely unequal wealth distribution perpetuates problems of malnutrition, substandard living conditions, and lack of access to services (*Ibid.*). Mexico has the highest number of children living in poverty (about one in every three) among the OCDE countries, while the richest 10% of its population has an income that is equivalent to that of 70% of Mexican households (Instituto, 2006). In 2005, 47% of the population did not have full access to basic nutrition, housing, and education (*Ibid.*). At the same time, according to Forbes (2007), Mexico has ten billionaires, including the second richest person in the world. All are white males, except one female of European descent (Forbes.com).

racism, sexism, and classism within their own Mexican communities. In Freirean terms, many of them have internalized the conscience and the value system of the colonizer and reproduce their own oppression (Freire, 1970; García, 2004; Mullaly, 1997). In the dominant community, immigrants trying to improve themselves through education may face overt bigotry –as in the case of Justo, who was almost unjustly expelled from college by one of his instructors– and covert, institutionalized discrimination. In his counter-narrative and analysis of Chicana/o college students, Villalpando (2003) argues that cultural consciousness and commitment to their communities help these students navigate institutional racial barriers. However, as pointed out by Duncan-Andrade (2005), the power of the dominant narrative may have a destructive impact. In this regard, Jesenia made an amazing analogy that reveals her racial insecurities:

> You can see it in nature, you know? I was telling Marina the other day: Why don't dogs have (laughs) (inaudible)? Why? Because they discriminate. When I was taking biology classes we learned how species, like zebras or insects, discriminate... how they evolve. ...You won't see red frogs having babies with green frogs, I tell her. Maybe it happens, but the great majority of species get together with their own groups (III: 808-813).

This concept of biological discrimination is obviously not appropriate in the context of human societies, particularly since humans have consciousness and all "races" constitute the human kind. It appears that Jesenia also has internalized the racial conscience of the colonizer, which in essence is "a consciousness that is motivated around that group's [the racially hegemonic White society] self-interest" (Dennis, 2003: 16). In Freirean terms, this is a colonizing consciousness that validates the story and the paradigms of the oppressor; it represents the duality that is established in the innermost being of the oppressed, who inadvertently become the oppressors (Freire, 1970). Rosario also had a revealing realization as she reflected during our interview:

> Many people, as soon as they know you come from the other side, they want to pay them less. Even we [Mexicans] do it. Even I, I believe I have done it with gardeners in my house. I think we can be racists too... And we are because sometimes it emerges in certain situations and I don't know why (V: 189-194).

Thus, the participants may have internalized the conscience of the oppressor, but despite their internal and external struggles, and against all odds, they have been academically successful and contradict Huntington's (2004 a/b) anti-immigrant theses. More importantly, the participants in this study, as the participants in Sarther's (2006) research,

have developed a powerful sense of purpose that became a motivator for academic success in spite of adversities. Jesenia, for example, sees herself "like the foundation" for further generations. Similarly, Rosario and Justo illustrate the development of a sense of caring and justice to help others and to rectify the inequities experienced as Mexicans (also found in Sarther's study). And, as it has been found by other researchers (Alvarez-McHatton *et al.*, 2006; Bohon *et al.*, 2005; Flores and Obasi, 2005; Gándara, 1995), all of them see their families as an inspiration and purpose for academic achievement.

López and Stanton-Salazar's (2001) claim that the "quasi-racial stereotyping" and low class status of Mexican-Americans may result in reduced motivation and achievement was not true in the stories elicited in this research. However, all the participants have encountered racial challenges that they have successfully overcome. Justo, the most academically successful, reflects on another incident he experienced as he and his cousin waited in line at the theater. They were called racial names by a woman who thought his cousin had cut in line.

> ...for at least that whole day I was self... self conscious of my race. I was self conscious of my... my "status." I wasn't a citizen that day; I mean I just became a citizen three months ago. I wasn't a citizen in the summer. But that didn't make any difference. I just felt... I just felt different. I felt singled out. Even though this person who has no... status, no authority, no nothing. It was just an argument from an ignorant individual. Because that's what racism is. It's ignorance (II: 373-382).

Racism can, indeed, be a pathological form of ignorance. Furthermore, Sullivan and Tuana (2007) argue that such type of ignorance is actually produced and reproduced for the purpose of domination and exploitation. Ignorance produces stereotypes, bias, intolerance, and hate, which in turn generate barriers between people. Mexican immigrants understand this very well.

## Immigrant origin: "In a golden cage"

For Mexican immigrants in the United States, whether they are citizens or undocumented residents, "the border is everywhere" (De Genova, 1998: 106). They face an invisible barrier, an omnipresent border that has historically defined their social position as

"illegal" outsiders and racialized others (Villalpando, 2003). Their racialization is inseparable from their colonized and subordinated status, "whose singular role is to provide cheap and tractable labor" (De Genova, 1998) at the service of a white, racist ideology (Villalpando, 2003). As noted by Taylor and Bankhead (2001), "When the economy is strong and jobs are plentiful, employers are eager to hire immigrants with little concern over the legitimacy of their green cards, but when the economy is weak, immigrants quickly become scapegoats" (155).[68]

In the specific case of undocumented students, legally sanctioned racism and anti-immigrant legislation make achievement in higher education extremely difficult. For years, societal attitudes and beliefs about Mexican immigrants have become gradually more hostile and, unfortunately, mirrored in school culture (Shannon and Escamilla, 1999). Justo also experienced this hostility at the university, where he was invited to participate in a student club of College Republicans:

> They were discussing whether they should place a drinking fountain in the middle of the university courtyard... as a mockery of the water stations that they [human rights groups] put in the desert for the immigrants. "If we are putting water in the desert for those who are here illegally," they said, "why don't we put a drinking fountain in the middle of the university to mock the Democrats?"
>
> ...and I protested immediately, and well, obviously we had a big argument. Then it evolved into a discussion about Affirmative Action and, you can imagine, yet another argument. Then we continued with bilingual education... imagine that! They almost kicked me out of there (IV: 656-667).

Shannon and Escamilla (1999) have referred to these types of incidents as examples of "symbolic violence" and as one of the barriers to just and equal education for all students. To be sure, Paulo Freire's concept of violence (1970) does not only pertains to the wars, massacres, and conflicts with which we are now so familiar, "but also the violence of the status-quo, of an unjust society which distorts and limits the possibility of full humanity to masses of people –people who are not even seen as human by those in power" (Weiler,

---

[68] In April 2005, California Congresswoman Hilda Solis introduced *The Commission on Mexican American Removal During 1929-1941 Act* to "investigate the removal of as many as two million Mexican Americans from the United States during the Great Depression" (Weider, 2006). Paradoxically, under the mantle of new anti-immigrant legislation, a similar possibility to force legitimate inhabitants of the U.S. out of the country is growing.

2003).[69] Mexican immigrants in Arizona live in a state that, paraphrasing Charles Bowden (1998), is the laboratory of our future,[70] where violence and oppression against immigrants exist in all conceivable forms. This is where they have to attempt economic survival, cultural adaptation, and educational progress.

The complexity and diversity of the immigration experience within the people of Mexican origin is enormous and cannot be captured with simple adjectives. As Jesenia's and Marina's narratives show, even within a similar social class, the difference between someone who comes from northern Mexico and someone who comes from southern Mexico is enough to make a difference in how immigrant children socialize in the United States. The diversity revealed by the narratives in this research also involves:

- Mexican immigrant families whose members include naturalized citizens, "legal" residents, and undocumented inhabitants of the same community.[71] Many immigrants,

---

[69] Freire refers to "the disguised or hidden violence: hunger, the economic interests of the superpowers, religion, politics, racism, sexism, and social classes" (1996: 185). From a similar philosophical perspective, Lee (1996) argues that once it is appreciated that the essential causes of poverty emanate from the institutional structures that determine wealth and power distribution, it is clear that poverty is caused by violence. From this perspective, poverty "is an institutional injustice causing or tending to cause significant harm" (*Ibid.*: 69). Thus, violence does not necessarily mean "physical violence," or the application of "vigorous force," but it does involve a constant threat of force in order to maintain such structures. Poverty is created and maintained when individuals are denied the resources they need for a minimally decent life (*Ibid.*: 70). In this sense, discrimination and exclusion are also forms of violence. Hence, violence is more closely connected with the concept of *violation* (the Latin root of the term) than with the use of force. "What is fundamental about violence is that a person is violated" (Newton Garver quoted by Lee, 1996: 71). See also footnote 36.

[70] Bowden, a photo journalist and activist from Tucson, Arizona documented the reality of violence and poverty in the industrial border city of Juárez, Mexico. In Bowden's painful and disturbing photographs and narrative underlie some of the reasons for Mexican emigration. In what could be termed "economic violence" –a result of economic colonization–, more than 300 foreign-owned *maquiladoras* (factories) employ over 200,000 Mexican workers in Juárez, while 2,820 *maquiladoras* across Mexico provide work for around 1,218,000 people (Instituto, 2006b). It is important to note however that *maquiladora* workers are predominantly women, who work 48 hours a week or more for about $9 per day. American mainstream perspective is that such inferior wages and labor standards are justifiable because the cost of living is less in Mexico and "they would not have work otherwise." In reality, prices in Mexico are highly incommensurate with wages (see footnote 28), while the average American worker easily earns ten times more than a Mexican counterpart. Bales (1999) argues that this is in fact a new type of slavery, where people are disposable and they are controlled by another person for the purpose of exploitation. In spite of having to pay wages (or rather "slave wages") and not having "legal" ownership, modern slavery gives slave owners the advantage of ownership without the legalities. "For the slaveholders, not having legal ownership is an improvement because they get total control without any responsibility for what they own" (*Ibid.*: 5). Paradoxically, those who have escaped this situation in Mexico and have come to the United States as undocumented immigrants can find themselves in similar circumstances, excluded from "the mainstream labor economy through racial labor segmentation, and thereby forced into ethnic enclaves where all labor laws are routinely neglected" (Ross, 1997).

[71] A report by The Urban Institute for the National Council of La Raza notes that there are about 5 million children in the U.S. with at least one undocumented parent (Capps *et al.*, 2007).

like Rosario, have gained citizenship by marrying U.S. citizens, but have members of their family who remain undocumented.

- Families whose members were born on both sides of the border and include U.S.-born citizens and undocumented members. Such is the case of Jesenia's and Marina's families, who have been fractured by their different immigration statuses.

- Undocumented residents who are "near natives" of the US. They are an integral part of US society and, in many cases, speak English better than Spanish. They were brought to this country as children, as in the cases of Marina, Jesenia, and Justo, and would probably have much difficulty adapting in Mexico because they have spent most of their lives in the US. Even though they are labeled as "illegal aliens," if the concept of citizenship is understood as membership in societal structures, they cannot be distinguished from the natives. They are, in fact, cultural, social, and economic beings and de facto citizens of the U.S. (Del Castillo, 2002; Flores and Benmayor, 1997).[72]

- Undocumented immigrants who have been in the country for many years, have learned the language, and have relatively stable jobs, as in the cases of David and Roberto. These two immigrants have married other undocumented immigrants, which suggests the existence of networks and communities of undocumented Mexicans.

Mexican immigrant communities also have been fractured in more profound ways, culturally and socially within the same family. Jesenia bitterly conveys to me her frustration about her brother's wasted "legality" and disinterest in education. She explains in *Espanglish*:

> ... I'm sorry to say that my brother, the one who was involved with drugs, I don't know if he still is... He is not *illegal*, and he has those problems, you know, and I used to get angry when I was in college because... there are all these other kids with the opportunities... they have the opportunities, but they don't take them. They don't finish school. And here I am, struggling. I want what they have. But I can't have it. What's keeping them from doing it? And when I look at my brother... He has the opportunity. Why does he act the way he does? (II: 755-761).

---

[72] There are at least 1.8 million children in the U.S. who are indistinguishable from other American children and speak mostly English, but are undocumented (Passel, 2005).

According to Fry (2002), immigrant *Latinos*, are much more likely to enroll in community colleges than any other group. All the participants in this study enrolled in the community college because they perceived it as their most accessible option. However, all of them wanted to attend a four-year university as part of their educational goals. Nevertheless, as Bohon *et al.* (2005) have argued, banned access to higher education is one of the greatest barriers faced by undocumented immigrants.

> I was a senior at the university. Um, and I plan on going back if I have the opportunity (David, VI: 470-472).
>
> The main obstacle [for immigrants to get an education] is the lack of documents (Roberto, II: 17).
>
> I want to have more education. I want a better life for me and for my parents (Marina, II: 33-34).

It is very likely that David, Roberto and Marina would have gone further in their higher education had they not had the obstacle of being undocumented. However, they were fortunate to complete their studies at the community college at a time when it was still feasible. With the growing perception of Mexicans as "illegals" and "aliens" (De Genova, 2005) and increasing anti-immigrant legislation, it is not surprising that native-born Latino high school graduates enroll in college at a higher rate than their immigrant counterparts (Fry, 2002). This is particularly problematic considering the high percentage of first-generation immigrants as a proportion of the total population of Mexican origin (more than 40%) (U.S. Census, 2002). Among them, there is

> ...a substantial "shadow population" of *illegal* migrants–numbering in the millions–within our borders . . . whose presence is tolerated, whose employment is perhaps even welcomed, but who are virtually defenseless against any abuse, exploitation or callous neglect . . . . The existence of such an underclass presents most difficult problems for a Nation that prides itself on adherence to principles of equality under the law (Kittrie, 2006).

In spite of such adversity, all the participants in this research have defied the odds by enrolling in college and completing their degrees. Similarities were found with the research by Alvarez-McHatton *et al.* (2006) on successful university students from migrant farmworker families. As in that study, the participants in this research were found to have "strong determination" and "self-reliance," supported by the positive influences from their families in their pursuit of higher education. Marina's determination is clear when she expresses that she *is* struggling to have an education, implying that she is looking for ways to get further, notwithstanding that she has earned four degrees from the community college.

> Desperation was always a negative factor. I always had my parents' support. I always wanted to be someone. But it is not the same when you do not have papers. Even when you are trying to be part of here, of the United States, go to college, interact with people... you know you have obstacles, like struggling with transportation when you had to meet with your College peers to work on group projects. So, if you had to meet with your group at 7:00 p.m., there is almost no public transportation here. So, those kinds of things... No who do I ask for a ride? Sometimes you do not have a lot of money to spend if your peers decide to go to a restaurant... you have to spend money if you want to work with them. And, well, I was struggling, *I am struggling*, to have my education, but I cannot have the luxury of spending what I don't have. Also, by being "illegal"... after the group finishes your College project, they want to go to a night club. And, although I was twenty-one years old, I did not have an identification card. And then I could not go with them... So, how would you explain to people? How would you try to tell them your story? It's very wearing (Marina, II: 149-168).

Jesenia finds it difficult to cope with the fact that, even though she managed to earn a higher education degree, she cannot use it to improve her economic and material conditions. She feels fortunate that she was able to obtain a university education in spite of her undocumented status, but she also reveals frustration and doubt:

> Having an education is a success. Though it's hard to describe success, because like I said, living in a society where you're not successful if you don't have some money... I went to school, and I still sometimes don't feel successful (III: 555-558).

Internalizing the guilt and stigma of being an undocumented immigrant can certainly lead to feelings of desperation and confinement. Even after she has become a citizen and graduated from the community college, Rosario referred to her painful experience as an undocumented immigrant as "being in a golden cage" (IV: 32-33). Remarkably, the same

expression was used by David (I: 712) and Roberto (III: 25).[73] The six participants' sense of belonging in this country and in college, so important for academic motivation in Gibson's (2003) research, has been continuously challenged. They have been constantly told, through the media and the dominant discourses, that they are "illegals" and therefore do not have a right to the space they occupy. Rosario, who now works at a literacy community center helping immigrants who are trying to get ahead, reflects on this:

> In the Center, where we have so many undocumented people, they walk around in fear, but they are studying, they are doing something positive, because they do not come here to do harm to anyone. They are studying, they are learning English, and I am there as a coordinator. ... they want to get ahead. So now, with the raids they are doing [the immigration police]... they feel very fearful, they walk around in fear... I think about this, and I know what they feel, because I've been there. Many women want to have a vacation with their husbands when they have a little extra money. So they would like to go to Disneyland, for example, but without documents they are afraid they could be stopped by the immigration police in the way... ...or, in the mornings, when they leave home to go to work, their families don't know if they will see them again. So, they are, and I was too, in a golden cage, right? You can have many comforts, yes, but if at the same time you don't have freedom, well... Now I have it and I can go out with less worry, but I remember. In the summer of 1999, I started having many depressions because of it... I felt a great loneliness. It was the kind of loneliness that, even if I could be accompanied by thousands of people in a room, I felt alone inside (IV: 19-40).

Justo also remembers his feelings of vulnerability as an undocumented immigrant. He switches from Spanish to English when he explains how he felt at school before he obtained his residency permit:

> I didn't want to ask questions because that's to show weakness. That shows lack of knowledge (II: 33).
>
> I felt that I just had a big thing on my head that said "Immigrant" ... and I didn't. And many times people said "you have something special, you can go far." And this was back in high school when I didn't see that. All I saw myself as was as an immigrant student that was just there (II: 33-37). I mean, when you're here and you're not here legally, the least thing that you want is attention on you. You don't want that (II: 35-42).

---

[73] Probably from the popular Mexican saying: *Aunque la jaula sea de oro no deja de ser prisión* (Even if the cage is made of gold, it is still a prison). David specifically refers to the song entitled *"La Jaula de Oro"* by *Los Tigres del Norte* (The Northern Tigers), a popular band from northern Mexico. The lyrics of the song read: "Here I am, still living in the United States. It's been ten years since the day I became a wetback. My situation is the same. I remain an undocumented immigrant. I have my wife and children, who came with me when they were little. They have forgotten about Mexico; I haven't, but I can't return to it. What good is money if I'm being held in this great country against my will? Remembering this I cry, realizing that although the cage may be made out of gold, it's still a cage, nonetheless." *Los Tigres Del Norte* have released dozens of records in Spanish in the United States.

Someone like Justo, with so many talents and confidence in his own potential, is hardly the person one would expect these revelations from. At that point, in Justo's mind, society's negative construct of the immigrant became his primary label, superseding all other talents and skills he has, even when others were telling him otherwise. His insecurities as an undocumented immigrant were a manifestation of the fear of exposing himself and of the intimidation and alienation experienced by these immigrants (Groody, 2000; Massey, 2005; Ramos, 2007; Veranes and Navarro, 2005).

Another challenge immigrant students have to face is their lack of understanding of the U.S. school system (Bohon *et al.*, 2005). This even appeared to be true for Justo, Jesenia and Marina, who were brought to Arizona as children and graduated from U.S. high schools.

> Justo:
> One of the challenges, as a specific example, was actually not knowing the system. That is because I did not have who to turn to. I did not have... my father would not be able to guide me (I: 1067-1068).

> Like when I was a freshman, they asked all these kids, "Where are you going to school?" And I was like, "I'm going to Cross." You know, like Cross High School. That's what I was thinking. They were thinking college. I didn't know what Stanford was. I had a jacket of Stanford when I was in eighth grade, and then when I graduated from Middle School, I thought I couldn't wear it anymore because I was going to be wearing it at a high school, and it was the wrong high school. I didn't even know what Stanford was! And... all these kids grow up knowing what college they want to go to because their parents went to some other... so for me the question was, "Are you going to school?" And if I said no, then they're like, "Okay." And if I said yes, they would be like, "Which one?" And I didn't know which one. And I said, "Maybe." And they're like, "So why... why don't you know?" So it was a hard question when you're growing up. And for other kids, it's like, "Hey, which one are you going to?" "Oh, I'm going to this one my parent went to. I'm going to the U of A. I'm going to whatever." (II: 463-477).

All the participants in this study faced similar obstacles, even as they entered the community college. They had to learn a "college culture" (Cabrera, 2004) unfamiliar to them and sometimes they had to find a difficult balance among their academics, family responsibilities, and work. All the participants worked as they navigated through their community college experiences. For undocumented students, this is particularly challenging. Cacho (2000) argues that racial prejudices in the United States limit our understanding of unjust capitalist relations, serving to artificially augment the white

middle-class' wealth, opportunities, and power, while making undocumented immigrants even more vulnerable and exploitable. Massey (1997) also has argued that immigrants improve the standards of living of citizens. The participants' stories substantiate these claims:

> David:
> Here you work, you go home, and the next day you get ready to get back to work. When I started school, it seemed to me that work had a little more meaning. It had a little more meaning because it was work that I did as something secondary. … It did not mean… I did not feel as a machine. As a robot that only does that. I felt there was something for me ahead (VI: 22-27).

> Marina:
> The community college was not easy for me. It was hard. And sometimes I would tell myself "I don't want to study anymore." The pressure of higher education is very intense and difficult. And not everyone has the capacity to handle such pressure, much less if you work, because that's another problem… I went to the community college, but since I could not work in just any place, I would help my mother to clean houses. Then, I would go very early to clean homes with my mom and after that I had to run to get changed and go to school. Then it was coming back from school and, if I had another house to clean, I would clean a house. So, after the classes, after cleaning houses to make some money, I would get home and help my mom with our home, cooking, taking care of my two younger brothers, helping her with my brothers' school issues… After that it's not easy at all (I: 595-607).

> Roberto [about the many hours he has to work to support his family]:
> I don't have a life (I: 635).

> Jesenia [about the family that enjoys her services as a domestic worker with a university degree, but pays her substandard wages]:
> They also said I'm, like, part of their family, I'm not just a worker there. ... but sometimes it feels like, wait, I'm just a maid (II: 1435-1437).

As it has been revealed in the counter-history of Mexican immigration included in this thesis, and as found in recent research (Johnson, 2003), the lack of civil and human rights protection for immigrants is a historical and contemporary reality. The abuses they encounter exist in all dimensions of life: economic, educational, cultural, and legal. Thus it is particularly troubling when one in every five children in the United States is an immigrant or a child of an immigrant and 62% of these children are Latino (Perreira *et al.*, 2006). The violence of poverty[74] afflicts about 24% of the population of Mexican origin (US Census, 2007) and Mexican immigrants are the most economically vulnerable (Crowley *et al.*, 2006). This is a more subtle violence, condemned by Paulo Freire, which

---

[74] Here, I refer again to the "violence of poverty" denounced by Nelson Mandela (quoted by Toh, 2004: 25) and Paulo Freire (1996). See footnotes 37 and 67.

does not only pertains to the wars, massacres, and conflicts with which we are now so familiar, "but also the violence of the status-quo, of an unjust society which distorts and limits the possibility of full humanity to masses of people--people who are not even seen as human by those in power" (quoted in Weiler, 2003). Additionally, most low income immigrants live in unsafe neighborhoods where crime, access to drugs, and alcohol are prevalent and have a quotidian impact on their lives (see for example Alaniz et al., 1998). Thus, violence against immigrants can be symbolic, implicit, overt, and very real.

> Jesenia:
> In the neighborhood where my mom lives (sighs)... there were a lot of drugs when we lived there. At midnight, there were shootings in the house behind. Bit by bit we've been surviving. There are still drugs, but it's a community where the majority of the people there are illegal or they are... you know, struggling, so my brother and sister live surrounded by all that. They have the potential [to study and get ahead], but they are in a community where the rest of the people can't, so they see themselves limited. They believe they are also limited (II: 811-818).
>
> Once, some young men with guns broke into our house. And they held my brother with a gun (II: 821-823).

Although no one in the family was psychically harmed in this incident, obviously overt violence and other adversities have surrounded Jesenia and other participants in this study. Jesenia makes a powerful observation about her younger siblings: even though they are not undocumented, they are still affected by their community environment as if they were. Thus, in spite of holding U.S. citizenship, her siblings face similar limitations, but from their surrounding community rather than from their immigration status. Furthermore, Jesenia realizes that being "legal" is not necessarily a guarantee for success.

> ...there are immigrant students that are legal, but they're still, like, left behind. They can't do well... you don't see a lot of role models, or, like, action figures, or icons that are successful from our culture, even though they're legal and all (III: 547-550).

Therefore, undocumented immigrant students face a double risk: the already well documented problem of underachievement of students of Mexican origin compared to other demographic groups in the U.S. (Álvarez-McHatton, 2006; Baker, 1996; Gonzáles *et al.* 2004; Kao and Thompson 2003; Rumberger and Rodríguez, 2002; Stern, 1996; Tienda and Mitchell, 2006; Valencia, 1991/2002), plus their documentation issues (Bohon *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, if as argued by Glick and White (2003), immigrants are more likely than their third or higher generation peers to complete secondary school

and go on to higher education, anti-immigrant policies are probably aggravating the underachievement problem. Anti-immigrant legislations, like the laws excluding undocumented immigrants from public education in Arizona, are relegating a large number of people with great educational –and therefore economic– potential. From such perspective, the warning by Allen (2006), that current demographic and economic trends predict the formation of a Mexican-American underclass, appears more ominous.

> Marina:
>
> You cannot find work, you cannot find a job... is frustrating. So, only cleaning houses. That was the only thing I could aspire to… the best thing, if you were lucky, (inaudible) houses. So, I came to expect that I would never find another job (I: 852-855).

Marina actually found other jobs, but they were all similar to the ones held by other undocumented immigrants. She has worked at a restaurant, as an office cleaner and, eventually, in a little store that belongs to the college counselor who guided her into college. A little luck, knowing the right person at the right time, and having made a good impression have helped Marina find a little better employment. However, not all immigrants are so fortunate, as demonstrated by Jesenia's story. Obviously, Marina is not reaching her full potential and she would certainly strive for more if she had the chance. She also realizes with frustration that her father, after so many years of working for the same company, and in spite of having a temporary work permit, earns similar wages per hour as she does.

> How is it possible that he makes about the same wages I do? … And I only have been in this job for three years! So, I see some discrimination. It doesn't matter how many years you've been employed… if you do not speak English and you do not fight for your rights, you will never get out of there (II: 453-461).[75]

Fighting for their rights is not easy for undocumented immigrants, even through the massive national protests of 2006 in demand of immigrant rights, in which Marina and

---

[75] Utilizing data from the 1989 Legalized Population Survey, Powers and Seltzer (1998) found that occupational status and earnings of undocumented immigrants between their first jobs in the U.S. and their last employment before legalization, as an average, improved. In a more recent study by Toussaint-Comeau (2006), she concludes that socioeconomic status of immigrants is determined by a complex combination of human capital, immigration factors, and demographic characteristics. "Human capital characteristics are represented by education, English-language fluency, and years of labor market experience. Immigration factors are estimated by number of years in the U.S. and the period of migration. Demographic characteristics include gender, racial group, and membership in a specific Hispanic ethnic subgroup" (519). The findings also suggest that less educated Hispanic immigrants will never reach the socioeconomic status of U.S.-born Hispanics or non-Hispanic Whites (*Ibid.* 531).

Rosario participated, and considerable sympathy from some parts of mainstream society. When Justo finally obtained his residency permit, much of his lack of confidence and many of his fears began to disappear and he gained a sense of security that he did not have before. Also, as recounted in Rosario's story synopsis, she expressed very similar feelings.

> Justo:
> Certain things in my life started to give me confidence. The one I can tell you was the greatest was to have obtained the residency [his official permit as a "legal" resident]. It gave me a sense of security (I: 1045-1047).
>
> Rosario:
> Your residency permit takes a big burden from you. Because you feel you have more liberty. Simply moving around the city... Simply going from point A to point B is very frustrating. That's why I support the [pro-immigration] marches and the boycotts. I support their struggle (IV: 72-77).

Obviously, Justo would have not been able to fight against the discrimination he suffered from a college instructor, especially in the tenacious way he did, without his documents. Rosario would not be helping immigrants in the same way she does. In other words, a "legal" status gives immigrants the ability to fight for their rights in a way they do not necessarily have without their documents. For the participants in this study, it is clear that legal status can eliminate the fear of discovery and allow students and their family members to fight unfair treatment. Otherwise, they try to fly "under the radar," undetected and voiceless. Nevertheless, the inspiring pro-immigration marches and the political activism of Marina and other immigrants show the growing aspiration of undocumented people to be heard.

The stories in this research corroborated a number of factors affecting the academic achievement of undocumented students in Arizona. The participants' narratives confirmed that legal status can give students easier access to college enrollment and more opportunities to afford education through federal and state scholarships and loans. Legal status can allow students to register as in-state residents, and therefore makes education less costly. Legal status also can give students easier access to transportation: namely a driver's license and therefore the ability to drive a car. Driver's licenses in Arizona require a social security number, so people without documents cannot obtain one legally. Being pulled over without a driver's license is one way to be detected; hence many undocumented immigrants do not take this risk. Finally, legal status can eliminate the

permanent stress and fear of deportation these students have to live with and the concomitant negative impact on their academic and personal lives.

When I asked Marina what would be the first thing she would do if she could obtain her citizenship documents, she immediately responded:

> The first thing I would do is to get into the university (II: 229).

As De Genova (1998) and the interviewees have stated, "The border is everywhere" in "the golden cage," but it allows its captives enough freedoms to believe in the myth of the "American Dream" while they are in fact being transformed into an underclass. Meanwhile, the undocumented will continue to be exploited as cheap labor while being taxed by the government without being awarded the rights of "citizens." Masses of them will remain in a perpetual state of poverty, like Marina's father. At the same time, the master narrative of U.S. history assures us that, "poverty is a temporary condition of immigrants or persons who have fallen willy-nilly on evil days, but who will eventually become beneficiaries of the American Dream if only they have the will" (Sieber, 2005: 24). An alternative explanation that is not popular among mainstream Americans is that societal structural conditions produce and perpetuate racism, class privilege, and power, while they impose barriers to social mobility and even extend poverty (*Ibid.*), as is the case of many second- and third-generation immigrants. In the midst of such adversity, there is one institution that gives many Mexican immigrants strength and inspiration: the family.

## Family and parental involvement: "Strength… trust… love"

Even when parents of Mexican origin do not understand the academic system in the U.S., or do not speak English, they can have a powerful influence on their children's academic motivation and achievement (Sather, 2006). Espinoza-Herold (2007) argues that oral traditions within families of Mexican origin can create a powerful environment that encourages academic achievement. The narratives elicited in this research corroborate Cabrera and Padilla's (2004) case study and Flores and Obasi's (2005) research regarding the strong personal motivation and the influence of the participants' parents in their academic achievement, predominantly the positive influence of mothers. Similarly, in

Alvarez-McHatton *et al.*'s (2006) research of 57 successful students from migrant families, they found that participants predominantly credited their mothers as their most important source of motivation. In this thesis, every single participant alluded repeatedly to the positive influences and support they received from their families. Five of them referred specifically to the influence of their mothers.

Jesenia:
...my mom would not let us skip school. Our grades always had to be good (I: 415-416).

When I came here, my mother was the most important person in my life. ...So, everything that was important to her was important to me. And for my mom it always has been very important that we go to school because she only made it to third grade. So school has been very important (I: 509-513).

David:
...my mother, on the other hand, kept telling me, "Always go to school, work (laughs) as much as you can." But yeah, you're right... I mean, I have a case where my brother, my brother that made it through the legal papers thing, he barely graduated high school (IV: 43-46).

If my mother were not here, I think I would have not achieved this. Because my mother always would tell me: "You have to go to the university, study, get as far as you can..." And my mom would tell my brother also: "See? He [David] does not have what you have [citizenship] and see where he is" [going to the university] **(IV:** 471-476).

Rosario:
I always talked with my mom first (I: 57).

Alejandra [Rosario's daughter] was taken care of by her grandmother until she was four years old, when she started kindergarten. She was raised by my mother [this allowed Rosario to go to the community college] (III: 327-329).

Marina:
When my mom saw signs that I was going to throw in the towel, she said: "just one more little push, just one more push... because you only need one more class, and you can... you have the ability. One little step at a time" (Marina, I: 618-621).

My parents did not have a lot of schooling. Mi mom went to school up to sixth grade (II: 90-91).

So she said her children would not go through the same path she did, the situations she had to face, the economic problems... She educated herself as much as she could. Not in school, but she purchased many books. She read a lot (II: 99-104).

Justo:

> Mi mom used to tell me, "That's not enough, you have to shine among the stars," my mom always said. "If a star shines among rocks, that is not difficult, but, when a star shines among other stars..." she said, "that's what defines a person" (I: 936-942).

Clearly the participants' mothers were sources of inspiration to them, both indirectly and directly in their educational achievement. Mothers encouraged the participants to persevere and helped them in important ways, regardless of their lack of knowledge of the U.S. educational system and their level of education. Mothers with little formal schooling, like Marina's and Jesenia's mothers, had relentless academic expectations from their children. Marina's mother did not let her lack of education and economic circumstances discourage her. When she could not study in the schools, she studied outside of the school and demonstrated to her children how valuable it was to read and learn. Mothers implanted a sense of responsibility, instilled positive words, reminded their children where they came from, and did not let them quit in their path toward academic success. Mothers also were lovingly demanding, since they would overtly expect their children to work and be students at the same time, as in the cases of David and Marina. However, they were also extremely supportive, as in the case of Rosario, whose mother took care of her granddaughter while Rosario worked and went to college. In summary, the role of mothers appears to have had a great effect on the participants' ability to succeed in the face of adversity.

Justo brings up an important perspective that was not explored in the review of the literature, but it does have precedence in research:

> [Education] ...is what immigrant parents come in search of for their children here (IV: 539-540).

From this perspective, the "better life" immigrants come in search of not only includes a better income and better standards of living for the immediate future, but also education for their children so future generations can continue increasing their standard of living. Perreira *et al.* (2006) argue that the decision of Latino parents to emigrate could be understood as a parental decision to help their children achieve a better education. In the interviews conducted by Perreira *et al.* (*Ibid.*), the desire to obtain a better education for their children was ranked as the most important reason behind parents' decision to immigrate to the U.S. In fact, the opportunity to offer their children better schooling was ranked above better economic conditions, safer environments, and family reunification.

Clearly, the participants who were brought as children to the U.S. understand the sacrifices made by their parents and make a conscious effort to pay their parents back. Throughout their narratives, Justo, Marina, and Jesenia identify three main motivations in their lives: 1) The sacrifice her parents made for them and the need to validate that sacrifice, 2) their own desire to have a better life than their parents had and to achieve this through education, and 3) their own future children, and their desire for them to be able to succeed academically and in life (see Marina's excerpt above, II: 136-143).

Justo:
He [his father] got here thinking about my education and about his job. But I don't think like that. I think about my education and the education of my children, and I think about helping my parents also (IV: 547-549).

Marina [who cannot drive legally in Arizona, but makes payments on her mother's vehicle]:
I don't need a lot (II: 492)... ...I do not need much right now. I don't have an ambition for things because I know I will have things in the near future. So, since I know my mom won't have some things, then I give her that satisfaction. That is, for my mom and my dad, and for the kids [her siblings] because... I did want things when I was a kid. And, since I don't have children, and I wanted so many things when I was little, I don't want my little siblings to long for things and not have them. So, if my parents cannot give them what they want, I give it to them, so they are not left wanting them (II: 497-505).

Marina's thoughts about her indebtedness to her parents:
"... you did a lot for me, so what I give you is minimal. That is, you gave me life, you gave me education, you gave me happiness... the best I am, you gave it to me. So, what I give you is a fraction of what you gave me" (II: 513-516).

Jesenia:
When you're little you know your parents expect things from you. I knew they expected that I finish school... and that I would do something with my schooling. So, even though they did not tell me, I knew they knew that I could, and... they didn't tell me, but they instilled it in me (I: 578-586).

Once in the United States, many parents encounter overt racism for the first time, as well as economic and social segregation, but they are able to help their children develop coping mechanisms to succeed in their new social context (Perreira *et al.*, 2006). In spite of the multiple challenges immigrant parents encounter in their new country and the barriers they experience trying to help their children in the U.S. school environment (Bohon *et al.*, 2005), they have a high regard for education (Shannon and Latimer, 1996; Valencia, 2002), have high academic expectations of their children (Glick and White, 2004), and can be surprisingly well-equipped to foster academic achievement in their children (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). They do not capitulate very easily.

Jesenia [talking about how she used to be incredulous regarding her mother's perceptions of discrimination]:
When my mom worked under an Anglo supervisor, she would tell me that she [the supervisor] was a racist. "You don't see it because you don't work there, but she is racist against us. She does not let us drink water. No, no, no... you don't know because you're not there." So my mom felt discriminated against in the factory, and she used to say: "the Gringo and the other person who can speak English do get permission to drink water. They get to go to the restroom more often." "They don't tell them anything and we are under the whip" (noise of snapping fingers), my mom said. ...And she would tell me: "you don't know what it feels like." And we would start an argument, and I would say: "Okay, ma. Okay. If you say so, ma..." But she was the one who worked there, and that lady probably did discriminate against her. My mother was very angry, but with her work we had enough money for me to start at the community college (III: 768-780).

Lamentably, the environment where the participants in this research reside, in the state of Arizona, has gradually imposed tougher legal barriers that affect both documented and undocumented Mexican immigrants (Menchaca, 1993; Rodríguez, R., 1997; Romero, 2006; Veranes and Navarro, 2005), and those who can potentially be the most academically successful generation of Mexican students.[76] Immigrant parents not only have linguistic difficulties (Bohon *et al.*, 2005) and lack of knowledge of the U.S. school system (Shannon and Latimer, 1996; Schmidt, 2003) as barriers to support their children, but they also have to struggle financially (Schmidt, 2003). Nevertheless, high parental expectations and relentless support for their children's academic goals can make a great difference in their success. Justo's story illustrates this, when he was about being expelled from the community college by a prejudiced instructor. His parents supported him and accompanied him throughout the eight painful months of the appeal process.

Justo:
And my parents did not give up. They said, "Let's talk to people. Who do we talk to?" We were sent to Alexandra Ryan* [a counselor] and she helped us with the

[76] Grogger and Trejo (2002) have found that "an enormous educational improvement takes place between first- and second-generation Mexican Americans" (13). The average schooling for the second generation improves about three and a half years. After that, intergenerational school progress of Mexican Americans slows considerably, lagging behind the academic achievement of whites "by an alarming amount" (*Ibid.*). However, Grogger and Trejo define the second generation as natives who have at least one foreign born parent. In the case of "near natives" –like Marina, Jesenia, and Justo– who have successfully graduated from U.S. high schools, I would argue that they have the same potential of U.S. natives of Mexican parents. I also would question the categorization of "native" which, culturally, is not acquired by being born within a specific demarcation, but by a sense of belonging and navigating successfully within a given environment.

* The real names have been changed.

appeal process. She said, "there are two things to address: your grade appeal and her discrimination." You have to go to Joan Sanders to for the grade appeal and to Dr. Jameson for the discrimination grievance. That's how I learned that there was an instructional area and a student development area in the community college. And it was a very long process because I had to face her [the instructor] again. And there I was waiting in the hall next to her office, with Dr. Michaels, on a little chair against the wall. Then I could hear her steps and I was in agony because I was afraid. I mean, I was... I was terrified of that lady who intimidated me so much. And she knew that she intimidated me, so she would give me a very ironic smile, a cynical smile, like when she expelled me from campus. The process took place throughout the semester. So I was coping with classes, my new job, and this issue. It was drilling in my mind (*sic*). I mean, I was tired coming out of our meetings [with college officials to resolve the issue]. I was exhausted, but I had to bring a character witness... uh, she also brought her witness, a math teacher... ...Valerie [the instructor] brought her as a witness of what a good teacher she was. And my witness was Ms. Gutiérrez, a top notch Chicana Power instructor. So they had an argument and I was simply there. Joan Sanders [the Dean] reviewed the case and, I'm not sure how it works, but she wrote a report explaining that I deserved an A in the course: "After reviewing his work, I rule that he deserves an A." But Valerie Frost appealed to Dr. Michaels [the Chief Executive Officer]. Then I had an interview with Dr. Michaels, and there was another round of meetings among the parts. Dr. Michaels report held the Dean's decision: "Justo deserves an A after my review." And Valerie Frost appealed again, this time to Dr. Royce. This time, Dr. Royce stopped it. He said, "it stops here. He deserves the A and there is no question about it. Even if you take points off, his work is 'A' quality..." He [the Campus President] agreed with me, but how I agonized! It was painful for me and for my parents. It lasted about eight months (I: 823-862).

This story demonstrates a great deal of fortitude and stamina on Justo's part. He had to appeal not only once, but three times, while the instructor kept insisting on pushing her side of the case. Justo's parents supported and encouraged him from beginning to end, which very possibly made a difference in the outcome of this story. However, the family had obtained residency authorization at that point and it is quite likely they may not have offered such strong support to Justo had they not had "legal" immigration status. Authorized residency in the U.S. gave them the strength to have a voice, and even the confidence to go against the system. They were willing to put themselves under scrutiny by the system because they no longer had an ultimate vulnerability that could have legal repercussions and take away their hopes for a better future. That single fact gave them the ability to fight for their rights in a way they could not necessarily have done as undocumented immigrants.

Justo credits his parents' and community college officials' support in helping him cling tenaciously to his cause. At the same time, Justo's strong internal locus of control (as

defined by Bender and Ruiz, 1974), his perseverance, and motivation cannot be ignored. Furthermore, Justo story has other important elements that played an important role in his development as a successful student. This experience actually helped Justo understand the community college system in a way that most students never do. Through his ordeal, he met the campus administrators and won their admiration for his perseverance, which later translated into Justo's involvement in campus activities and the student government body. Also, Ms. González powerful support in Justo's defense confirms the importance of having ethnic minorities in the faculty ranks. In essence, the combination of all these factors created a cumulative effect that helped Justo win a battle where he was greatly disadvantaged. After years of academic and professional accomplishments, Justo's main inspiration still comes from his parents:

> My dad went back to school, he's at the community college now, you know, learning English, and doing this and that. They're taking turns between my mom and him so they're not both at school at the same time. (II: 146-149)

> Every time I start feeling tired, I remember my dad washing cars for $2.15 in a January weather, when it's thirty-five degrees. Getting his hands wet, you know, and then having someone rip off half of his tips. I mean, I remember that and I say, you know, am I going to complain about having to study until twelve or one a.m.? No, no, no, you keep going. You keep going. And you keep going. And I remind myself of my parents, and that's what keeps me going. I mean, they're my heroes (IV: 357-363).

All the participants appear to have very positive and solid family values. Perhaps their family structures became more solidified in the United States, as they became isolated from their culture and communities of origin. When I asked Marina what was the meaning of family for her, she answered laconically, with three nouns:

> It is strength… it is… trust and love (II: 255).

The high levels of stress and family strain experienced by immigrants (Grzywacz *et al.*, 2005) are probably magnified by undocumented status and challenge the health of family structures (Rodríguez and Hagan, 2004; Sullivan and Rehm, 2005). Nevertheless, the family remains as the main enclave of support and strength for immigrant students (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001). Even Jesenia, whose family has experienced divorce and remarriage, has a strong sense of loyalty to her family and a conviction that they have deeply impacted her in a positive way, despite all of the problems they have experienced. Rosario also came from a split family, and she herself is a divorcee, but she still adheres

to the importance of family and uses her children as her motivation to keep moving forward. In addition to family circumstances, external forces created by the community and school environments surrounding immigrant students can be decisive factors in their achievements. The next section explores these dimensions.

## Supportive and undermining environments: "I do not exist here"

Romo and Falbo (1997) have found that the reasons Latino students do not persevere in school are connected with their school and community environments. These researchers argue that school policies and practices have a propensity to undermine the motivation and educational achievement of Latinos (*Idem.*). Similarly, Stone and Han (2004), argue that school climates are clearly and consistently related to academic performance and perceptions of discrimination. In addition, undocumented students experience structural barriers related to their immigration status. Jesenia and Marina, the two participants who were brought to Arizona as children and remain undocumented, encapsulate the impact of the hostile environments they live in as undocumented immigrants in lapidary and devastating phrases:

> Jesenia:
> I am limited. I am like a spectator: sitting, looking at others do the things I'd like to do some day (II: 26-28).
>
> Marina:
> I do not exist here (II: 559).

Some undocumented immigrants, like the participants in this research, have been able to achieve educational success in spite of these demoralizing feelings. As it was also found in research by Cabrera and Padilla (2004), Gándara (1995), and Garza *et al.* (2004), these participants revealed their strong internal motivation, responsibility, strong work ethic, ingenuity, and hope. Additionally, their stories reiterated that internal and external barriers, real or perceived, can be alleviated by felicitous college environments, supporting individuals, and helpful programs (Alberta, 2005). These factors can potentially counter the effects of negative influences such as poverty. For example, the programs for struggling women, transitioning high school students, and others utilized by the participants provided a small financial relief but, perhaps more importantly, they

became a support system that encouraged them to persevere. This is important considering that, on average, students from low-income backgrounds –as are most Mexican immigrants– are less likely to graduate from college than affluent students (Hebel, 2007).[77]

> Roberto:
> Many people do want to go to school to learn English, but they either pay for school or pay the rent, utilities, all that… just their basic needs (II: 49-51).

Almost four in every ten (38%) foreign-born Hispanic adults are high-school dropouts, almost triple the rate (13%) for Hispanics born in the U.S. (U.S. Department, 2007). Nevertheless, notwithstanding their precarious economic conditions and poor statistical prospects, all the participants in this study graduated. The personal fortitude and resilience of these students also appears to be particularly important. It appears that they will not take "no" for an answer and they will readily undertake challenges and face adversities:

> Daniel:
> So I usually would get up really early in the morning. I would average about an hour, an hour and-a-half before the class, so I could study... I remember all my classes were back to back, so I didn't have time between classes. So, my first class usually started at seven fifty or eight a.m., and then they would be done by two p.m., sometimes by twelve, depending on the day. Then at four o'clock I go to work. I go to work at four o'clock and I get home by twelve-thirty, one a.m. That's what my routine would be on a daily basis. (II: 24-30)

> One time I... I was taking this [history] class. And the lady... the first day of the class, she said, if English is not your first language, you might as well drop this class. That was the first thing she said. (II: 211-213)

> …there was a couple of Japanese girls, too. They were there in the class too. I knew them because I was taking, I think it was Writing for International Students [with the Japanese students], something like that. And so the Japanese girls dropped out. And I said "No, I'm staying." (II: 222-225)

> But I still got a B. And I remember her [the instructor] telling me, "I never thought you were going to make it." And I said, "Why don't you let me take your next class, too, so we can prove it." Actually, you know what? My first class was a B. Then I took the following class and I got an A… In the next level class (II: 238-241).

---

[77] "For college students from families with annual incomes of $25,000 or less, slightly more than one in four earns a bachelor's degree within six years, according to the U.S. Department of Education. For students from families with annual incomes of $70,000 or more, that figure is 56 percent" (Hebel, 2007).

An auspicious environment, support services, and institutional commitment will certainly be conducive to academic success (Donato and de Onis, 1995). Additionally, personal resilience and the ability to turn adversities into opportunities, factors identified in all the narratives elicited by this research, appear to be essential attributes for facing adversity:

> Jesenia:
> [Education] has shaped my life and taught me to look at situations from different perspectives. You don't have to look at things all the time as a negative fight [referring to the adversities she faced throughout college]. You can choose to look at them that way, or you can choose to look at them from another perspective. I think that what education does to you (III: 713-717).
>
> Roberto [referring to his goal to work in international business, his college degree, and using his language skills in spite of his immigration status]:
> What I do is temporary. It's good, right? But it's temporary. I don't see myself doing this until I am fifty, sixty years old... (III: 89-93)
>
> There is a lot of opportunity. Much opportunity. It's what we do not lack here. ... and everybody talks about wanting to be bilingual, but there aren't many bilingual people in this field (III: 102-106).
>
> Rosario [referring to how she graduated and achieved goals after her painful marriage failure]:
> You know what experience has been the best in my life? What made me become a woman and started to teach me who I was? My divorce (II: 7-9).
>
> Daniel:
> They [at the university] require you to spend more time reading books, spend more time with a tutor, spend more time with your peers... I remember they [students] always had meetings about homework and I didn't have that time. So I had to deal with whatever hours I had available and make the best out of them (II: 96-102).
>
> Justo:
> ...being singled out, for what some people puts them down, for me it has encouraged me to do better. If I'm singled out, if you're looking at me, and you're expecting me to do something either good or bad, it doesn't matter, but I'm being singled out, I know my actions are being noticed. So I can't... I can't mess up. I mean, I have to do everything that I can [to excel] (IV: 175-179).

It appears that the students' resilience and internal drive was noticed by key individuals who motivated them and helped them in their struggles. As some research has shown, commitment to help students (Cabrera and Padilla, 2004; Donato and de Onis, 1995) and truly caring for them (Valenzuela, 1999) can make a great difference. Marina narrated the powerful impact a high school teacher, a community college counselor, and an Economics instructor had on her academic trajectory:

Then, in my freshman year, I struggled a lot. The next year, I continued to struggle, but I had the same teacher and he was really good. He would stay extra time after school hours if I did not understand him, he would explain again, and then he would explain in Spanish. He would teach one person, or several, just in Spanish because it was after *educational time*, after the hours during which he had to be a teacher. And so, when he taught us in Spanish, I learned very quickly. In Spanish I only needed him to explain... in five minutes, but in regular classes he would have to repeat three, four, five times (I: 356-363).

> ...when I was not allowed to enroll at the community college and I was totally disappointed because I knew I would not go to college. He [the counselor] told me... He knew where I lived, he came to my home, knocked, and said: "I will take you" [to enroll in the community college]. Then he took me and, even though they had already told me "no" because I was... I did not have papers, because I did not meet all the requirements, he told me I was a resident because of all the years I had lived in Arizona. I was considered a resident (II: 209-216) (Please see footnote 46).

> My Economics instructor [at the community college] also supported me a great deal. I frequently said it was too difficult, but she would tell me: "you can do it, you can do it." She would tell me: "you've done well; you are the student who dedicates the most time to your studies." Some times my assignments were wrong and she would give me two or three assignments to redo, and I always redid them. ...she knew that when there was a review I always would be there, and I always would do the work. Then she would tell me that there were very few people like me, that there were not many students like me, so persistent. She told me to be always like that, that I would get very far. So, when your instructors see that... even when they know you have limitations... She did not know what my limitations were. She knew I had limitations; maybe she thought it was language. But she would say: "you have potential." Then, when your instructors *see* you, you say: "Yes, I have it in me!" Then, I simply need a little more determination, keep on working, keep on the same direction because I am on the right path. So you realize that what you're doing is worth the grief. And you start feeling fulfilled (I: 646-673).

A solid work ethic and sense of responsibility helped Marina to complete her academic goals at the community college. Positive words from academic mentors and a college counselor gave her the incentives she needed to persevere at difficult times. Jesenia also expressed the idea of following the "right path," even if the future is uncertain. Thus, struggling through their educational experiences was worth it because of their personal growth and satisfaction, even at the risk of not being able to use their education in the U.S. in the future. As in Cabrera and Padilla's (2004) research, these students were introduced to the "culture of college" by committed counselors and tutors who inculcated in them that they were worthy people and could achieve great things. Justo also remembers

crucial individuals in his academic growth (beside his parents), like his business teacher in high school:

> Some times I did not have an A, but he would say: "I know you can do it." So he pushed me. He pushed, and pushed, and pushed... He was a personality. Always very well-dressed. He was a leader in his Baptist church, someone you would not expect to have so much esteem for a Mexican immigrant student. And he had a lot of esteem for me... he always told me that I could do it. I had my difficult days, like the typical high school student, frustrated and sometimes rebellious, when I did not want... and he would tell me: "I know that you can" and "this is just a front your putting." He would say: "do the work." And he would make me write, and he would turn the light off so I would not see the keyboard. In other words, he pushed me. And then, I had another lady teacher. She taught me how to use *Print Shop* and *PowerPoint* and different things, but she would tell me the same things. She used to say: "you are not even doing two percent of what you can do." And sometimes I didn't like the pressure (I: 513-528).

Some times, the people who supported these students had heterodox approaches and bent the rules in order to help. Interestingly, the individuals who went beyond the accepted practices in order to help these students succeed were minority counselors, faculty members, and administrators. This reinforces recommendations by Donato and de Onis (1995) to hire minority people in leadership positions. The instructor who allowed Rosario to attend class with her daughter was a person of Mexican origin, and so was the counselor who encouraged her to enroll in the program for struggling mothers, which helped her through her most difficult moments in college. The counselor who went to Marina's home looking for her in order to enroll her in the community college was also of Mexican origin. He was the same counselor who encouraged Jesenia and Justo to be enrolled in the Summer Bridge program to help them transition successfully into the community college. In other words, alongside supportive programs and conducive environments, there have been key individuals who helped these students to take advantage of them.

Rosario:
I did not have any money. I went to the community college because *Women in Progress* granted me a scholarship for two classes (III: 340-341).

An afternoon I came to the computer lab where I was taking classes and I mentioned to one of the ladies in charge that I was looking for a job. She said: "we need a student aide." And Bingo! It occurred to me that I would love to do that. The money was very little, the minimum, but if you think about it, it was better for me to be working on campus than going back and forth. And so I became a Student Aide in the Computer Lab (III: 386-392).

> The summer of 1998 came and Nadia [Rosario's Mexican-American mentor] saw good skills in me... I am not sure what she saw in me, that she asked me to work with her as an assistant, coordinating the summer academies. That was a great experience for me (III: 399-402).

All the participants in this research found help and support from specific people within the educational system. This appears to corroborate Gibson's (2003) findings that caring relationships between staff, educators, and students are essential in promoting academic success for immigrant students. Another part of the explanation for the high perseverance and academic achievement of the participants in this study is consistent with Gibson and Bejínez's (2002) research on Mexican students from migrant farmworker families, where the support provided by specific programs was found to be crucial. Initially, Rosario was able to afford college thanks to the small scholarship granted by the Women in Progress program and, more importantly, she benefited from a network that provided her with emotional and social support (III: 339-407). Similarly, the Summer Bridge Program helped Justo (I: 614) and Marina (I: 461) with their transition from high school to college. David took advantage of a program that promoted transferability between the community college and the university and was able to enroll at the university. Jesenia was able to start classes at the university thanks to Project Class Arizona, a program aimed at helping struggling women to get a higher education, where she was not questioned about her lack of documents. Therefore, the opportunities and caring environments created by these types of programs could be part of the antidote for academic attrition, even for the highest risk immigrant students (see Gibson and Bejínez, 2002; Alvarez-McHatton et al., 2006).

When the educational environment permitted, the participants even found sources of agency and support among themselves. Marina became a member of a student club, *Hispanos Unidos* (Hispanics United) made by and of Hispanics to support Hispanics. David became involved in a group called Future Hispanic Leaders of America. Justo himself was the founder of a student club, *Voces de la Juventud Hispana* (Voices of Hispanic Youth), that engaged undocumented students and encouraged Hispanics in general to take advantage of opportunities in higher education:

> Marina:
> *Hispanos* [*Unidos*] was a club we had. The group would raise funds for the members and... Let's say that those who were in sports could not afford soccer shoes, like myself, *Hispanos Unidos* would help me and I could have my shoes. I also was in the Folkloric Dance club and once I really wanted to go to the

Mariachi Conference. But I had to pay to be there. *Hispanos Unidos* would sponsor us. That is, you would work doing carwashes, selling candy, giving presentations, and later, from that money, they would give you funds if you needed them (I: 373-386).

David:
...when I arrived at the community college, I remember I joined a group called FHLA. Most of them were Mexica... ah... Chicanos, they call themselves Chicanos, they're Mexicans born in America. It was called Future Hispanic Leaders of America. And I was in there. And I mean, obviously I didn't speak English much. But, all they spoke was English. So, you also learned that way because, you know, you only... you have to speak English. So... from there, I remember a lot about, um... affirmative action. They kept saying that it should be more enforced, they should increase the numbers, and I kept wondering: "what is affirmative action?" (I: 308-316).

Justo:
The majority of the members did not have documents because it was a Spanish club... it was in Spanish, and we would show... open their eyes to different opportunities. We have a community college, we have a university, here you are... (I: 355-358).

Where we focused our efforts the most was on a change of mentality. That was the focus. Because there were many, many... [students who needed motivation] We also focused on those who had the opportunity: "you have the chance. Give it a good go!" And if they did not have the opportunity [alluding to undocumented students], we would not exclude them. Our attitude was never to say: "Too bad, this is not for you." We did not have all the answers. We were just sixteen, seventeen year old kids. ...I would not say anything about their [immigration] status, but I would say: "You know what? That is not a big deal. You set your goals. What do you want to achieve? There will be a way to do it." When you crave something, it's like Beethoven; he could never stop writing, until his last melody, when he was deaf. You know what I'm saying? That is, there are no limits. If you truly want something, you can achieve it in this country. This is the country of opportunity (I: 366-378).

Now that Justo has a "legal" immigration status, the system seems to be working well for him. Moreover, he has a powerful drive to succeed no matter where he is. Even when Justo was an undocumented teenager in high school, and organizing other undocumented students would seem to be an intimidating task, he persevered. Evidently, a favorable school environment helped Justo and his friends to achieve this. Today Justo is the incarnation of the "American Dream." However, Jesenia and Marina are struggling with the very same "dream," since their realities appear to be showing them the American Dream may be out of reach. For undocumented inhabitants of the United States, and particularly in Arizona, the possibility to "rise above" their socio-economic reality –as the American Dream implies– has become more difficult. David and Roberto are also experiencing truncated versions of the "dream." In addition to their undocumented status

and the anti-immigrant movement, increases in income inequality, cost of living (housing, medical expenses, consumer debt), and the cost of higher education make many immigrants, and the poor in general, increasingly disempowered (Sieber, 2005). It appears Jesenia is the closest to giving up on the dream, while the other three who remain undocumented still hang tenaciously to the idea that their realities will change some day.

> Marina:
> ...looking into the future, I want my children... if I was able to finish the community college, I want my children to have a university education. I want my children to have masters degrees, I want them to have a doctorate. And so, all this is for them to be able to achieve that; that's why I have to get a little bit ahead of my parents. So I have to... some times that was the only thing that motivated me to finish the community college. I know I could get a little bit further than the community college and I know they [her children] will get much further than me (II: 136-143). [78]

The vital sense of optimism and hope expressed by Marina can be enhanced in college by organizational cultures that emphasize opportunity and reduce barriers (Reyes *et al.*, 1999). Rumberger and Rodríguez (2002) criticize the lack of attention to the high risk settings where disenfranchised students live and go to school. Colleges cannot do much about the poverty and violence that some of the participants, like many immigrants, experienced on a daily basis. Nevertheless, positive organizational environments and role models of Mexican origin may reduce the unequal encouragement to succeed

---

[78] In 2003-2004, 64% of all Hispanic undergraduate students in Arizona were enrolled in community colleges (Excelencia, 2004). By the school year 2013-2014, more than 40% of public high school graduates in Arizona will be Hispanic, predominantly of Mexican origin (*Ibid.*). Lamentably, higher education is less affordable in Arizona compared to other states (*Ibid.*) and Hispanics have a high rate of poverty. The state lags behind the nation in the educational arena. A report by the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education has graded Arizona and only four other states with a "D" in student preparation. Arizona is 50th in the nation with only 73% of 18-24 year olds holding high school diplomas and showed no improvement in the percentage of students enrolling in higher education after high school, ranking 47th with 28%. Additionally, the racial gap in college participation has widened. Whites are twice as likely as non-Whites to be enrolled in higher education, while college affordability continues to decline (*Ibid.*). It is in this context that community colleges must be instrumental in developing the state's human capital and, contrary to the anti-immigrant rhetoric, that educational process should include undocumented permanent residents. If only for pragmatic and economic reasons, this is necessary (Dervarics, 2006; Gans 2007) but, more importantly, human rights and dignity demand it.

experienced by minorities (Donato and de Onis, 1995; Pearl, 2002; Valencia, 2002).[79] Jesenia also experienced the positive influence of one individual who helped her to break barriers in order to be able to enroll in the community college.

> They gave me some tests and I made it into college. But it was Vicente Suarez[80] [a counselor of Mexican origin] who helped us [she and her sister] to get in. Because they previously had given my sister trouble when she tried to enroll at the community college before... (I: 722-724).

> ...he [Vicente] was a counselor. He took his time, he sat with us, helped us enroll and told us where to go and what to do. In order to enroll in any college, you had to be an in-state resident, right? Since we did not have in-state residency, he... I don't really know how he did it. He asked us for certain papers, like taxes... my mom's tax identification number. My mom claimed us in her tax forms, so we showed him my mother's tax forms. Then he asked us for school papers, our grades, the transcripts and things like that to be able to demonstrate that we qualify as in-state students (I: 729-741).

Caring individuals and support programs can potentially create the environments that counter academic attrition, even for immigrant students living in adversity (Alvarez-McHatton et al., 2006; Gibson and Bejínez, 2002). If, as Shields (2004) proposes, deficit thinking in higher education is replaced with profound and meaningful relationships with students –as those developed by the staff, faculty, and administrators who help the participants–, academic achievement will be more feasible for others like them. With the rising tuition at four-year colleges and the complex lives of immigrant students, community colleges seem to be propitious for those who need financially accessible educational opportunities and flexible options that allow them to work and be part-time students (Bailey and Smith Morest, 2006). Judging by their high enrollment rates (higher than the national average), higher education has a great value for Latinos (Fry, 2002). Paradoxically, in spite of such high enrollment, their graduation rates lag behind all other ethnic groups. Thus, "Much of the Latino achievement gap is the result

---

[79] Lack of encouragement to succeed and barriers to educational achievement also have color. In 2007, the Chicago Tribune has revealed neglected data from the U.S. Department of Education for the 2004-2005 school year that shows African-American students are disciplined disproportionately more rigorously for the same offenses, even when compared with White students from the same socio-economic background. Similarly "Hispanic students are suspended and expelled in almost direct proportion to their populations, while White and Asian students are disciplined far less" (Witt, 2007). This research corroborates that racial factors are more important than the dominant society is willing to admit. Interestingly, the Chicago Tribune analysis found that some of the highest rates of racially unequal discipline are found in states with the lowest minority populations (*Ibid.*). Historically, this research reveals that we have not overcome the deep racial divisions and prejudices in American society. In a historical analysis of racial repression experienced by people of Mexican origin, Menchaca (1993) reviewed records of court cases between 1848-1947 and found that Mexicans of Indian descent were more severely discriminated against than Mexicans considered White.

of what happens after Hispanic students begin their postsecondary studies" (*Ibid.*: 4). In the specific case of the participants in this research, they obviously needed the financially accessible opportunities provided by the community college. Perhaps even more importantly, the support programs, role models, and caring individuals who helped them appear to have been essential in their academic achievement. In other words, access is important, but "Access without support is not an opportunity" (Hebel, 2007).

## Acculturation and cultural preservation: "Let's do it in *Espanglish*"

As explained above, Mexicans in the United States are a very diverse population ethnically, politically, and culturally. Some of them reject American culture to the point of refusing to speak English (apparently a small minority); while others become assimilated by the dominant culture to the point of rejection of their own Mexicanness. In the first case, Ronald Takaki (1993) refers to the term "Occupied Mexico" used by some people of Mexican origin living in the United States. On the other hand, in her analysis of "subtractive schooling" and Mexican youth, Angela Valenzuela (1999) sees the schooling process as a "state-sanctioned instrument of cultural de-identification, or de-Mexicanization" (161), that deepens divisions among students of Mexican origin. As a consequence, many students of Mexican origin experience negative identity conflicts, feelings of guilt, and even self-hate. Along this wide spectrum of identities and realities, many immigrants have been able to create a cultural and linguistic space where they feel safe, or what historian David Gutiérrez has called a "Third Space" (quoted by Smith, 2005). Jesenia, like the other participants, appears to constantly navigate in that Third Space, somewhere between Occupied Mexico and de-Mexicanized America. Thus, when I asked her what language she would prefer to use in our interview she candidly responded:

> Let's do it in *Espanglish* (I: 12).

The historical prohibition of Spanish as an inferior language has been an instrument of political and socio-economic domination (González, N., 2001; Perea, 1992). However, in our time, Stavans (2003) argues that Spanglish, or *Espanglish* as some Spanish

---

[80] The counselor's real name has been changed for his protection.

speakers call it, represents the emergence of a new American language (see footnote 33), a third space of resistance. Arredondo *et al.* (2003) argue that this hybridity is a type of oppositional consciousness of "resistance to the repression of language and culture, a recognition of a 'third space' located within intersecting structures of power..." (5). Jesenia does not conceive the use of *Espanglish* as a statement of resistance to the hegemonic culture and language, but rather as a convenience and as a sense of belonging:

> ...since I know you speak both, I feel more comfortable [speaking *Espanglish*], although I know it's not a language... I used to have an English teacher in high school who always gave us a hard time about it. We [Jesenia and her friends] would sit in a place to talk, and that's how we talked [in *Espanglish*], and he would say, "Okay, you either talk to me all words in Spanish or English. No *Espanglish,* because I am training you for the real world. When you have to work, you will have trouble if I let you speak like that." And we laughed, "But sir, c'mon, sir..." It was fun (I: 14-21).
>
> I never spoke English in school. In high school, I spoke it only when I had to with teachers (I: 954-955).

Although Jesenia's English is very good and certainly allowed her to function in school, she used it in high school only when necessary. She was able to do this because she resides in a large Hispanic community, but her use of *Espanglish* is an indication of her complex identity. Morales (2002) describes the use of *Espanglish*, and the state of *being* Spanglish, as living in "multisubjectivity" and as a link with history and issues of race and class (31-32). The participants in this study have lived and experienced multiple dimensions and subjectivities in the process of acculturation. Clearly all of them have adapted to the dominant culture and speak English well. At the same time, all of them feel proud of their background, they do not want to forget their native language, and those with children of their own emphasize Mexican culture as part of their family values. Gibson (1998) argues that when immigrants' children preserve their ethnic cultures while acquiring the dominant language and culture, they have a good chance to do well academically. This certainly appears to be the case of the six participants in this study. Their experiences also reinforce St-Hilaire's (2002) finding that fluent bilingualism is positively associated with educational aspirations and expectations. Justo and David express this in perfect English:

> Justo:
> I consider myself an immigrant, as I was telling you, proud of my [Mexican] roots, and I know we have a lot to contribute here (IV: 44-46).

David [narrating his experience in a Public Speech class, nervously speaking Spanish to his peers]:
...I remember, I started my speech with the same "*¿Cómo estás?*," as when I speak Spanish. And everybody's staring at me like, crazy. And then I told them, that's how I feel when you speak English to me. My point was, it's important to learn another language. And I was trying to tell them that, you know, I'm learning, I'm trying, you should too. (I: 97-100).

I don't speak Spanish as much as I speak English anymore. ... A lot of people always tell me that I speak English like a university grad (I: 230-235).

The participants' attachment to their Mexicanness and their solidarity with their ethnic communities also appear to be positive factors in their development. It could be argued that, because the participants reside in an urban community with a large population of Mexican origin, they have been able to develop more effective social networks and support structures that increased their social capital and encouraged their educational achievement (Gibson and Bejínez, 2002; Grant, 2005; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch, 1995). Takaki (1993) observes how Mexican Americans who are U.S. citizens by birth are often reminded by their parents that they are still Mexicans "by blood" (354). Rosario has followed this tradition of pride, but differences have emerged among her family members:

> I always have inculcated in my children that they are Mexican... because their parents are Mexican. They were born in the United States, but they come from Mexican parents, therefore they're Mexican. And so my sister always gets angry at me and tells me, "They are actually Americans," she says, "Why do you tell them they are Mexicans?" ...her son never says "I am Mexican" (I: 247-260).

According to De Genova (1998), Mexican immigrants "have a remarkable heterogeneity of experiences," but "the terms 'Mexican American' and Chicano/a' have virtually no currency for self-identification; the pervasive category is 'Mexicano/a.'" Heterogeneity is definitely evident through the narratives in this research. However, self-identification can be a very complex endeavor. Roberto, for example, is also very proud of his Mexican background and is not very fond of the term "Chicano," as De Genova's research suggests, but he defines himself and his children as "Latino" (III: 451-458). Rosario does define herself as *Mexicana* (or Mexican), but she contradicts De Genova's (1998) research. Her statements show her adaptation and evolution in her new culture:

> I am an immigrant, a Mexican, *Mexican-American*... Hispanic... When they ask me, I always say: "I am Mexican" (I: 307-312).

> I am learning to be a better Mexican here in the United States (VI: 3)... I've been learning more about my own culture... (VI: 53).

And, in spite of her profound Mexican pride, Rosario can be very critical of Mexican culture and society:

> [Mexican] society imposes so many bad things, where we are all supposed to be equal... it's a big lie (II: 125-128).

> It's a great cancer that we Mexicans have [referring to inequality in Mexican society]. And I brought that cancer with me ... but, when I came to this country, I did not want to stay in this country at the beginning. I felt that the Americans and the *güeros*[81] were not part of my society, my natural environment. I thought Americans were dirty ... Then, I think God wanted things to happen this way (II: 135-145).

Jesenia has a much more complicated, but inclusive concept of identity. She explains to me as she mixes phrases in Spanish and English:

> I am *México-Americana* (*sic*) because Mexico belongs to America.[82] Even though society, or... people in general, everybody thinks that America is only the United States. It's not. America is bigger. So, I am *México-Americana* because Mexico is also part of America. I am Latin because I speak Spanish and Spanish comes from Latin... I am also Hispanic because I speak Spanish. And I am Chicana because when they made the border between Arizona and Sonora, I came from Sonora, Mexico. I learned English and immigrated to the United States... um... sure, I guess I am a little bit Chicana. My little sister [who is also a U.S. citizen] is Chicana, she struggles with her Spanish... but sure, I am Chicana also because I have learned a little *Chicanismo* (III: 978-991).

---

[81] *Güero* is an adjective Mexicans commonly use to refer to people of fair complexion. However, many Spanish speaking people in the United States also use this slang to refer to Anglo-Americans.

[82] This is a widely held standpoint by Mexicans and Latin Americans in general. According to Levi (1991), "To millions of West Indians, Canadians and Latin Americans, America is more than the United States: it is North, Central, and South America and the Caribbean–the Western Hemisphere" (486). In his Presidential Address to the American Studies Association in 2003, Kaplan (2004) referred to the "the imperialistic appropriation of the name America" (10). This appropriation is something many Mexicans, and Latin Americans in general, feel resentful about. Jesenia's perspective probably came from her parents and the Mexican educational system. In Mexico, as in other Latin American countries, children are taught that Columbus "discovered" America, which encompassed the whole American *continent*. Interestingly, the American continent was named after Amerigo Vespucci in 1507. Vespucci was an Italian explorer who, in 1502, was the first European to realize that the Americas were completely disconnected from Asia. However, neither Columbus nor Vespucci ever set foot on the land that would become the United States of America. Martin Waldseemuller, a German cartographer was the first person to print a map using the name "America." Paradoxically, he only used the word "America" for South America. In 1538, Gerardus Mercator was the first person to make a map that included both the names "North America" and "South America."

Interestingly, notions of space and identity merge in a subtle but powerful expression used by Jesenia (I: 257) and Rosario(V: 190) as they refer to Mexico as "the other side." Nugent (1993) has noted that the expression *El Otro Lado* (the Other Side), very commonly used by Mexicans to refer to the United States, alludes to "the other side... of The Same Space, of a single space" (6). Obviously, for Rosario and Jesenia, *the Other Side* is a valid expression on either side of the U.S.-Mexico border. The expression reveals their sense of belonging to both sides of the same space, while they connect with the counter-memory of their ancestors. Historically, "they did not cross the border; the border crossed them." Conversely, in the United States people are told that the inhabitants of the rest of this shared space are potential "aliens," the official term used by the U.S. government to refer to immigrants. These participants, however, share a clear counter-memory; a Mexican "community of memory" that contradicts the colonizing version of history. Implicit in it is a tacit claim and a sense of history and identity that is missing in the dominant immigration discourse.

> Jesenia [reflecting on the meaning of being an immigrant]:
> To migrate, you know, to migrate to another place, to another culture... that's immigrating to me. And I sometimes don't feel like I immigrated here to the U.S... it sounds like they're talking about something else. ...Because I grew up in Arizona, and this is my home (III: 727-732).

> Marina:
> I grew up in this country. So, it is difficult to say I am or feel as an immigrant. The only thing that makes me hit the wall is that I am an *illegal,* but I was *born* here. Many friends tell me, "You are not illegal. You were brought up here. You are a *Unitedstatesian*."[83] So, I grew up here, all my education has been here, but simply because of the lack of some papers I am not... (voice breaks) The way I feel about being an immigrant is that I am not one (II: 28-34).

Marina and Jesenia utilize the term *illegal* to refer to themselves, a sad indication that they have internalized the racist discourse of the dominant narrative. They, like millions of undocumented immigrants, are victims of colonization who have internalized the consciousness of the colonizers (Freire, 1970, García, 2004). However, Marina also has a slip of the tongue and refers to herself as "born here," instead of "raised here." It is clear that she feels as "an American in the shadows" (III: 558-559). She is convinced that her children will grow up in the United States and will get "much further" than she has (II:

---

[83] In the interview, Marina utilized the Spanish adjective *estadounidense.* In the literature, Del Castillo (2002) refers to "the Unitedstatesian side of the border" (12), based on the term *estadounidense*, utilized by Mexicans and Spanish speakers to refer to people of the United States.

143). Similarly, Jesenia expresses that "we are like the foundation for our kids" and places herself historically with other people she does not believe were recognized in their time. Specifically, she places herself with the discrimination against the Irish immigrants (II: 884-891). Justo also shows historical perspective and a vision of the future when he explains that his educational accomplishments and hard work will benefit "those who come after me, my children" (IV: 555). The participants' place in history, their dreams, and their identity are inexorably linked to their sense of belonging in the United States.

Roberto expresses great admiration for the United Status and is a firm believer in its meritocratic system. He expresses some criticism to his adopted country, revealing some mixed feelings about American culture:

> Here your word is not worth anything. Here everything has to be on writing. And this is not true with Mexicans. If someone [in Mexico] tells you things will be a certain way, they will be that way (I: 270-272).

Galindo *et al.* (2005) point out that *Latinos* in the United States create new and manifold identities, while retaining past cultural forms. These "border identities" are hybrid, constantly evolving, "and may imply multiple loyalties" (81). The bilingual and transnational identities of Mexican-origin people, and Latinos in general, have historically been construed as "foreign" by the dominant culture in the United States, who conceive a uniform American identity. Throughout their history as a minority, people of Mexican origin and all Latinos have been under attack "by subtractive assimilationist policies developed to eliminate Latino culture[s] and the Spanish language" (*Ibid.*). Schooling has been one of the main mechanisms utilized to achieve such objective and, as stated by Valenzuela (1999), "the history of public schooling for U.S.-Mexicans shows schools to be key sites for both ethnic conflict and the production of minority status" (162). Nevertheless, the narratives in this research show the complexity of hybrid identities and their mixed loyalties.

> Justo:
> It's absolutely a blessing to have come here. And that's why I would not hesitate to defend this country if I have to do it (II: 315-316).

With this assertion, Justo completely contradicts Huntington (2004a/b). He is still connected to his Mexican roots and very proud of them. He still speaks Spanish and sees that as an advantage. However, he is also very proud of being an American and is

extremely patriotic in this sense. As seen in "The political economy of immigration." Justo's energy, enthusiasm and high aims are the type of attributes many immigrants bring with them and the U.S. benefits from. Justo's narrative is extraordinary as he reveals how he conceives his own identity. He does not identify with the Chicano culture. He feels most comfortable with the term "Mexican American." but he is well aware of the symbolism and power behind *Chicanismo:*

> I consider myself Mexican American. But I see a lot of value in the Chicano movement, back in the sixties and... many of the rights that we have now are because of that movement. So I respect it. You know? I admire it. I mean, it took guts to do what you did back then. What people did back then... (IV: 936-942).

> [The term] Latino is more... is the safest one, because that's a geographic term. You know, it's Latin America (IV: 996-997).

> ...I feel proud of whom I am. I feel proud of where I come from. And, because I understand where I come from and where I am now, I know I can get to a place in the future. To be an immigrant is an identity for me. It's a constant way of life. ...And I don't think of me as a disadvantaged immigrant, but I see it as an advantage. It's like when people laugh at someone with an accent, but that means that person speaks at least two languages (IV: 153-161).

> ...being Hispanic doesn't only mean that you can lead the Hispanic club, that you can lead the Spanish club... the Hispanic, the Latino fraternity or sorority. No, no, no. You have the ability to be the ... the Attorney General of the United States. You know, you have the ability to be the Surgeon General of the United States. And I'm naming those positions because they're occupied by Hispanics/Latinos .... ...We can be Speaker of the House, we can be... you know, Senate Majority Leader (IV: 267-272).

Evidently Justo has a solid sense of self and of his own culture. However, in his narrative, he also revealed his insecurities and struggles as he navigated school environments both in Mexico and Arizona. Justo talked about the process of intense acculturation and challenges he faced when he first came to the U.S. He appears to thrive in the face of adversity and, even when he struggled to adapt to and understand the U.S. school system as an undocumented immigrant, he succeeded in achieving different goals. Justo's story and the narratives of the other participants corroborate Lucas and Stone's (1994) findings that students of Mexican origin with low levels of acculturation are as competitive, if not more competitive than students from the majority culture. Additionally, their counter-stories reinforce the claim that encouragement and nurturing of Mexican/Hispanic/Chicano pride, cultures, and language will be conducive to the academic success of immigrant students (Allen, 2006; Gibson, 1998; Nieto, 1996;

Valenzuela, 1999). Ethnic pride, acculturation, and changing identities are salient features in their stories:

> Roberto [answering to the question "Do you identify more with the U.S. flag or with the Mexican flag?"]:
> With both (III: 339-341).
>
> Justo:
> So, we have had to learn a lot of things after we came here, not just as immigrants, learning a different life style... You also learn to respect different things. You learn how to appreciate different things. And you learn how to identify, in different ways, with people you never thought you would identify (V: 35-39).
>
> David:
> Your way of thinking does change and you feel like a Mexica-Ame... like an American. And sometimes I don't feel like a foreigner. I even say "we" referring to the United States. ...So, for example, when I debate about the war [in Iraq], I don't just talk about "the United States," I say "we" ...referring to the United States. "I think *we* should do this," or "*We* should not go there..."or "We shouldn't do that..." (VI: 53-63).
>
> Marina:
> I do not think like they do in Mexico. I adore Mexico, I am extremely proud of being Mexican, but I cannot change Mexico. And... it is very possible that, because of my ideologies, I would have many problems living in Mexico (II: 565-568).

This goes against Huntington's (2004a/b) idea that Hispanic immigrants do not want to or do not intend to acculturate to the United States. Nevertheless, it could be argued that, contrary to other minorities and immigrant groups, great numbers of people of Mexican origin have not been fully "assimilated" into the dominant U.S. culture and continue to speak Spanish (Huntington, 2004a/b; Perea, 1992). This is probably due to the fact that more than 40% of them are first-generation immigrants (U.S. Census, 2002/2007), rather than to their unwillingness to assimilate the dominant norms and language. In fact, Rosario's sister prefers to call her child American, rather than Mexican; Justo's parents go to school to improve their English; and David prefers to utilize English in our interview, rather than his native language. It would be difficult to accuse these immigrants of reluctance to adapt to their new country.

If, as concluded by Gecas (1974), immigrants' loyalty to Mexican cultural values is stronger than in the case of Americans of Mexican origin, the six participants clearly show divided loyalties. Their identity structures appear to be malleable and fluctuate between two worlds. Their evolving minds demonstrate the complexity of cultural

identity, which is far from being stagnant. The participants' strong English language assimilation appears to corroborate Alba *et al.*'s (2002) research. Their adaptation to the dominant culture is unquestionable, but their socioeconomic advancement, predicted by St-Hilaire (2001/2002), is uncertain for those with an undocumented immigration status. At the same time, Justo and Rosario, who have become formal citizens of the U.S., support the argument that immigrants who deliberately preserve their native culture and maintain solidarity within their ethnic communities make rapid socioeconomic progress (*Ibid.*). It is also possible that, especially in densely Hispanic areas of the U.S., educational success and economic prosperity are feasible without full assimilation for people of Mexican origin (Andrade, 1998). Nevertheless, this appears to be much more difficult for undocumented Mexican immigrants, even when they have been assimilated.

In conclusion, all participants in this study appear to navigate in that complex "Third Space" between Occupied Mexico and de-Mexicanized America. Since they were born in Mexico, they do not always identify themselves with Chicanos and Mexican-Americans, those "native strangers" who have inhabited the Southwest since before it became the United States. They do not feel always the pride of the Chicano movement and culture because they came to the country after that struggle. And yet, they have been acculturated in the United States to the extent that they would not feel complete living only as Mexicans. The reality is that cultures are in a constant state of flux and transform each other. The narratives in this research show that people can actually embrace two or more cultures and languages as they are transformed by cultural cross-pollinization. The participants appear to be, as defined by Stavans (2001), "a transitional group, living in the hyphen" (19).

# CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Race, class, and gender still matter because they continue to structure society in ways that value some lives more than others. ...They matter because they remain the foundation for systems of power and inequality that, despite our nation's diversity, continue to be among the most significant social facts of people's lives (Andersen and Hill Collins, 2007: 1-2).

There are no truths ... Only stories. (Thomas King quoted by Davidson et al., 2003: 28).

Just as education is never a neutral activity and it always entails a political act (Finlay and Smith, 1991), narratives are never neutral. "The act of telling stories is by its very nature political, and carries with it social responsibilities" (Davidson *et al.*, 2003). The counter-memories contained in this research contribute to the collective stories of people of Mexican origin in the United States. Paraphrasing Ronald Takaki, they are the alternative narratives that build and reinforce our counter-history and our "community of memory" (quoted by García, 1995). In line with Critical Race Theory, this research, its methodology, and the counter-narratives elicited from the participants confront the "master narrative of American History" that ignores Mexican-origin people's struggles and our participation in the making of "America."

From a Critical Race Theory approach, the life history/narrative methodology utilized in this research functions as a means to legitimize, empower and promote the voices and counter-histories of the Mexican immigrant participants. CRT reveals how the law has played a role in racializing people of Mexican origin through *de jure* constructions of citizenship that lead to their educational exclusion and White privilege. The counter-narratives presented in this research demonstrate that race and racism have been significant factors in the educational experiences of these Mexican immigrant participants. As suggested by Nebeker (1998), the narrations of their experiential knowledge enrich anti-colonialist critiques of the dominant social order.

As the dominant anti-immigrant discourse in the U.S. intensifies, there are not enough stories recounting the experiences of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the academic literature. Seemingly, mainstream researchers are not interested in those who have been declared "illegal aliens" and banned from educational opportunities. This is lamentable, and serves only to augment the isolation, invisibility, and the human rights violations against these members of society. Some scholars have denounced how undocumented

immigrants are excluded from public services like healthcare, housing, and the protection of labor laws (Archibold, 2006; Barclay, 2005; De Genova, 2004; Massey, 2005; Michelson, 2001). They are subject to human trafficking, economic exploitation, and cultural marginalization (Cacho, 2000; Ramos Cardoso, 2007; Sarther, 2006). They are disenfranchised and live in fear of being deported and separated from their families (Feldblum, 2000; Kittrie, 2006). They are systematically discriminated against; but the great majority of them do not claim their human rights (Johnson, 2003) because visibility is more menacing than their suffering. They do not have a public voice because silence offers them more protection. Many of them have talents and potential that cannot be tapped if they remain undocumented; and most of them are here to stay. As shown in the previous chapter, the in-depth interviews in this study have corroborated that most of these adversities exist in the lives of the participants.

Put in a historical context, these counter-stories emerge as pieces of a collective counter-memory in a racially hegemonic U.S. State where the official version of Mexican immigration has more history than memory. In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo guaranteed the protection of civil rights, property and language of Mexicans, but instead they were dispossessed, disparaged, and linguistically chastised. Over a century and-a-half later, demographic and economic realities derived from economic colonization and capitalistic expansion have helped people of Mexican origin create new spaces of resistance. Americans of Mexican origin and a large immigrant population from Mexico appear to have created a "Third Space" (Not Anglo-American, but not entirely Mexican either) where their renewed cultural and linguistic presence is growing. Evidence of the societal influence of Mexican immigrants was uncovered by the participants' narratives. Thus, in the midst of adversity Roberto establishes a business to support his family, Marina participates in pro-immigrant marches, Rosario helps immigrants through an educational community organization, and Jesenia uses *Espanglish* at ease.

Contrary to the State of Arizona's emphasis on mono-lingualism and English-only legislation, it appears that the preservation of cultural identity and language helped these immigrants surpass challenges and succeed academically. While all six interviewees are fully bilingual, Spanish was the predominant means of communication throughout the in-depth interviews. Their counter-stories show that in order to achieve community college degrees, the interviewees utilized their family support systems, developed social networks, and preserved their values and Mexican culture, including language.

## A Recovery of History and Identity

If it is true that "only the vanquished remember history," it is their responsibility to recover it and preserve it for future generations. The master narrative of American history has institutionalized the "normalization of forgetting", but the community of Mexican origin possesses a collective memory that refuses to be forgotten. There is a historical debt with people of Mexican origin in the United States that the dominant ideology, mainstream narratives, and thus prevailing societal memories do not recognize. Paraphrasing Marx, the oppressed construct their counter-history under conditions they did not choose, but such conditions can only be transformed by the dialectical confrontation of memories and counter-memories. Such confrontation of stories and dialectical transformation is evident in the counter-history of people of Mexican origin in the United States, and has been successful at eliciting social change and social consciousness to a certain extent. Nevertheless evolution is not linear and sociopolitical regressions, like the current waves of anti-immigrant racism, are not unusual in the history of humanity.

The continued flows of immigrants from Mexico are the result of territorial conquest, the asymmetrical power structure between Mexico and the U.S., the colonization of the Mexican economy, and the historical promotion of immigration by U.S. corporate and government interests. Such counter-history and the historical discrimination against people of Mexican origin have been documented by researchers (Acuña, 2003; Chávez, 2002; De Genova, 2005; Delgado-Bernal, 1999; Donato, 1997; Flores, 2003; Haney-López, 2003; Hernandez, 1995; Hernández, 2001; Melcher, 1999; Rendón, 1996; Rojas, 2001; Valencia, 2005; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996) whose perspectives are not part of the dominant discourse. A more powerful anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican rhetoric dehistoricizes and decontextualizes the undocumented immigrant phenomenon. Nevertheless, participants appeared to share their own counter-history as part of the much larger community of memory shared by people of Mexican origin in the U.S. Jesenia expressed it with great frustration when conveying her version of Native American and Mexican history:

> ...they would send these people back. They wanted [Native Americans and Mexicans] to go home. But they're already home! This is their home. ...this didn't belong to [the Anglo-Americans]... (VI: 39-41).

Participants in this study understood that the history of Mexican immigrants and Americans of Mexican origin had been decontextualized, and emphasized their counter-stories to legitimize their place in U.S. society. All participants implicitly and explicitly referred to the U.S.'s historical debt with Mexico, drawing from this perspective when asserting their right to be here, their right to an education, and their right to be part of the formal societal structure. The participants referred to the history of U.S.-Mexico relations and the U.S. economic dependence on Mexican labor. Such dependence and strong Mexican roots in the U.S. were used to justify their right to be legitimate members of society and to be accepted as part of the official system. From this perspective, Marina and Jesenia do not consider themselves immigrants.

> Marina:
> So, I grew up here, all my education has been here, but simply because of the lack of some papers I am not... (voice breaks) The way I feel about being an immigrant is that I am not one (II: 28-34).

From a CRT perspective, narratives and stories like the ones revealed through this research help the oppressed to create their own shared memory and history which can then be used as a source of strength as they work within a system dominated by a narrative that excludes and minimizes their existence. In opposition to the dominant narrative, it is clear that these immigrants did not need to reject their original culture and language in order to succeed academically and, in the case of the two naturalized students, in the societal structure more widely. To the contrary, these successful students drew strength and determination from their familial and cultural values. While able to function successfully in the dominant Anglo-American system, all of them remained firmly attached to their ethnic communities. All of them display ethnic pride and attachment to their Mexican roots, revealing and expressing a counter cultural and counter historical understanding and awareness.

In a seemingly contradictory fashion, however, alongside this strong sense of Mexican cultural identity, a process of acculturation to U.S. norms and values was also revealed through the stories of these students. Particularly those individuals who had been raised and received the majority of their education in the U.S., while proud of their ancestry, did not perceive Mexico as home. They have in effect become cultural, social and economic citizens of the U.S. even if they have not been granted documented status. As expressed

by Takaki (2007a), "You don't have to be a citizen to be an American." This was clearly expressed by David:

> ...sometimes I don't feel like a foreigner. I even say "we" referring to the United States. ...So, for example, when I debate about the war [in Iraq], I don't just talk about "the United States," I say "we" ...referring to the United States. "I think *we* should do this," or "*We* should not go there..." or "*We* shouldn't do that..." (VI: 52-63).

The participants in this study showed different levels of acculturation and appreciation for the country they perceive as home. Language is a major indicator of adaptation to mainstream culture and the six interviewees are fully bilingual. Although Spanish was the predominant means of communication throughout the in-depth interviews, all the participants speak English at a highly competent level. As suggested by Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995), it appears that bilingualism gave the participants special advantages in establishing the institutional networks and support necessary for academic achievement. They also have hybrid identities and, perhaps more than the dominant population, they seem to be aware of the connections between remote and immediate history and are able to see themselves as products of that context. Thus, the undocumented Mexicans immigrants in this research are *de facto* Americans or, as expressed by Marina, "Americans in the shadows." They contribute to the economic and cultural wealth of the nation, raise families, work, pay taxes, and are integral parts of their communities in the U.S.

## Uncovering Undocumented Economics and Anti-Immigrant Apartheid

Once their history is recovered and acknowledged, the word "immigrant" becomes problematic and deceiving in understanding people of Mexican origin in the United States. There were Mexicans and Hispanics in what today is the Southwestern U.S. centuries before those territories were annexed to the U.S. by military conquest in 1848. Thus, in principle, our Mexican ancestors did not come to this country; the United States came to them. Subsequently, the U.S. government has actively promoted legal and undocumented immigration from Mexico in different historical periods. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Mexicans were exempted from immigration restrictions so they could provide needed labor; between 1942 and 1963 the Bracero Program, criticized as a

form of "legalized slavery" (Barndt, 2007: 24), motivated millions of Mexicans to emigrate to the U.S.; and, in the 1990s, with the rapid growth of the U.S. economy, authorized and undocumented immigration grew again. At the same time, forgotten by official history are the organized racial violence and the extensive lynching of Mexicans after the Mexican-American War;[84] the expulsion of Mexican immigrants and even Americans of Mexican origin during the Great Depression; Operation Wetback; and many forms of legal and institutionalized racism. Such racist structure and economic hypocrisy allowed the U.S. government to meet its commitments to capitalist development in different sectors of the economy (see Bach, 1978) and it continues today.

> Marina:
> They are exploiting you... you know they are exploiting you, but you do nothing. ... It's not because you can't, but because you feel impotent and you're afraid (II: 345-348).

Through internal colonization, labor segregation, and economic and the territorial conquest of Mexico, the United States has created the conditions that lead Mexican people to emigrate to the U.S. In turn, the U.S. benefits from the existence of undocumented immigrants. Their economic importance has been corroborated in numerous studies that show the contributions of undocumented immigrants to different sectors of the economy. The role of the interviewees and their family members in the formal U.S. economy (as well as in the subterranean economy that exploits undocumented immigrants) is evident in the six narratives revealed in this work. Nevertheless, Mexican immigrants continue to be portrayed as undeserving racial others in dominant narratives and discourses. Immigrants are automatically assumed to be non-White outsiders with low educational attainment. As a result, they are seen as cheap, expendable labor irrespective of their citizenship status. The high dependence on the Mexican immigrant workforce and its economic benefits in states like Arizona (see Gans, 2007) contrasts with the state's refusal to pay for the social costs of that labor.

---

[84] Carrigan and Web (2003), argue that although it is widely known by the people of Mexican origin on both sides of the border, the story of racial violence against them "remains relatively unknown to the wider public" (411). The danger of being lynched for people of Mexican origin in the U.S. was virtually as great, and sometimes greater, than for African Americans in the South. "Because of the smaller size of the Spanish-speaking population, the total number of Mexican victims was much lower, but the chance of being murdered by a mob was comparable for both Mexicans and African Americans" (414). This is what Goggin (1984) has termed "historiographic racism."

As pointed out by De Genova (2005) and Ledesma (2002), today the terms "undocumented immigrants" and "illegal aliens" are conflated with "Mexicans" and, as shown in these counter-narratives, anti-immigrant legislation can have detrimental impacts on both recently arrived immigrants and Americans of Mexican origin. As revealed by some of the interviewees, they realize they are being exploited, but feel powerless in the face of the rising anti-immigrant climate. People of Mexican origin in general are subject to "legal harassment" (see Haney López, 2001), the unintended discriminatory effects of English-only and other laws, and overt anti-Mexican racism[85]. Meanwhile, passionate anti-immigrant citizens see themselves as patriots, defending the last bastions of "truly American" values and morals, apple pie, and democracy. In the best scenario, "legal" Mexican aliens – gardeners, attendants, babysitters, construction workers, harvesters – are expected to quietly disappear on the horizon when their chores are finished. On the other hand, successful, educated, and wealthy Americans of Mexican origin are living proof of a democratic, egalitarian society.

Johnston (2001) has referred to the anti-immigrant policy regime that emerged in California in the 1990s as "a new apartheid" (263). The counter-history of people of Mexican origin in the United States shows that legal, economic, and political apartheid systems have existed and evolved into new forms of anti-Mexican racism ever since the U.S. colonized Mexico territorially and economically (Acuña, 2003; Bendersky, 1995; Fernandez, 2003; Menchaca, 1993). For many generations, separate and unequal education, segregation, discrimination, and inequality under the criminal justice system were quotidian adversities for Americans of Mexican origin, immigrants, and Hispanics in general. In the twenty-first century, the sociopolitical climate of the post-September Eleven era appears to have engendered an intensified form of xenophobia and racism that are disguised under the mantles of national security and cultural preservation (as shown in the works of Huntington, 2004a/b; Buchanan, 2002/2006; Malkin, 2002; and Tancredo, 2006). This perpetuates the conditions that have allowed power, wealth, and influence to

---

[85] As explained in this research, the mainstream media, right-wing talk shows, and politicians extensively disseminate the dominant anti-immigrant narratives, which have been taken to unbelievable extremes. For example, the Wall Street Journal quoted Republican Representative Steve King of Iowa who "regularly accuses illegal immigrants of committing sex crimes against 'eight little girls' a day as part of 'a slow-motion terrorist attack'" (Kronholz, 2006). Malkin (2002), a syndicated columnist and media commentator who is published by nearly 100 newspapers, also conflates the issues of terrorism and immigration. By 2006, Hispanics were the victims of the highest number of hate crimes in U.S. history, representing 62.8% of all crimes perpetuated due to the victims' ethnicity or national origin (Federal Bureau, 2007). As I write these conclusions, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has revealed that hate crimes against Hispanics have increased by 25% since 2004, when the anti-immigrant rhetoric started to spread nationwide (*Ibid.*).

be passed on to White people for many generations, giving them a historical cumulative advantage.

Contemporary anti-immigrant racism in Arizona and other parts of the nation does not claim notions of biological superiority, but has a subtle connection with nationhood and nationalism and with an imaginary nation with a homogeneous cultural community (Gilory, 2000). People of Mexican origin, as Hispanics in general, not only continue to be discriminated against because of their phenotype, but also because of their language and culture (San Miguel and Valencia, 1998). Hence, in spite of the Civil Rights Movement, affirmative action, and desegregation, people of Mexican origin continue to be disproportionally disadvantaged economically and politically, and millions of them remain educationally segregated.

> David [reflecting on his inability to continue studying]:
> It's something that I love to do. I could go to school for the rest of my days if I could. ...I like school. I like to study, I like to read (VI: 515-521).

For most undocumented immigrants in Arizona, the higher education dream is inaccessible. Anti-immigrant legislation in the state has denied basic human rights to undocumented immigrants[86] and uses "citizenship" as a justification for discrimination. As pointed out by Bandhauer (1991), this type of racism is more subtle because it does not *officially* rely on phenotype, culture or language as justifications for discriminatory action. The counter-narratives in the research revealed how each participant has experienced prejudice and racism at an individual and institutional level from the dominant non-Hispanic community. The life histories document specific examples of racism and racial prejudices that have excluded study participants from educational programs they were otherwise qualified to enter; cases where an instructor tried to block a student from returning to an entire educational institution; the difficulties of needing to work full-time or near full-time in order to afford school; and the difficulty of getting to

---

[86] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is being blatantly violated by state laws in Arizona and by anti-immigrant practices across the nation. Article 7 of the UDHR states that, "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law." Article 22, states "Everyone, *as a member of society*... has the right to the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality." Article 26 states that, "Everyone has the right to education." Furthermore, according to the same Article, "higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit" (United Nations, 1948). Lamentably, many undocumented immigrants who are banned from higher education in Arizona, like some of the participants in this study, have the potential to achieve great academic accomplishments and benefit their communities and the country.

campus and class meetings when one cannot obtain a drivers' license. Despite these obstacles and barriers each of the interviewees revealed sources of agency that enabled them to overcome such hurdles and to achieve their educational goals at the community college.

The exclusion of undocumented immigrants from receiving state benefits and in-state tuition for higher education in Arizona is currently preventing four of the participants in this study from developing their full educational and economic potential, relegating them to an indefinite underclass status. By denying educational opportunities to undocumented Mexican immigrants, the state of Arizona and other states in the U.S. are wasting enormous talent that could enrich the nation's diversity and economic potential. The most paradoxical case in this study is Jesenia, who is a "near-native" with a baccalaureate degree in education and is not allowed to work because of her undocumented status. Meanwhile the U.S. is importing teachers from other countries to satisfy the demand for educators. At the same time, the stories of the two individuals who have regularized their immigration status demonstrate that, given the opportunity, they can offer social and financial benefits to the communities in which they live. It is clear that, for undocumented participants the main obstacle is not their attachment to non-Anglo-American, non-Protestant cultural values (as espoused by professor Samuel Huntington and others), but rather the legal and institutional structures that perpetuate racial prejudice.

Justo's extraordinary story and achievements speak for themselves. As a legalized immigrant he has gone beyond most American university graduates and he continues to flourish. His high aspirations and optimism are not blemished by the castification produced by undocumented status:

> Justo:
> I have discovered that there are really no limits. I mean you can... you can achieve what you set your mind to achieve (II: 591-592).

> ...being Hispanic doesn't only mean that you can lead the Hispanic club ... No, no, no. You have the ability to be the Attorney General of the United States. You know, you have the ability to be the Surgeon General of the United States. And I'm naming those positions because they're occupied by Hispanics/Latinos (IV: 267-272).

Justo is now a U.S. citizen, but his potential as a human being remains the same as when he was an undocumented student. Conversely, for David, Jesenia, Marina, and Roberto many of their talents remain truncated by legally sanctioned discrimination and their castification as "illegals." The six counter-stories in this study reveal a variety of causes for the undocumented status of the participants. In some cases immigrants were brought to the country when they were young minors, unaware of the legal and political implications of their family's decision. Like other hundreds of thousands of undocumented high school graduates, they have spent most of their lives in the U.S. Other students came to the U.S. with a visa and, for various reasons, decided to stay after it expired. Still others entered the U.S. as older minors, economic exiles, aware there could be legal implications to their actions but wanting to be reunited with family members or provide for their own family. These narratives reflect only a small portion of the complexity of the Mexican immigrant experience, but they expose the drama of immigrant families, which can be comprised of naturalized citizens, authorized residents, and undocumented members simultaneously. In practice, these families have been fractured socio-economically, legally, politically, and culturally within and across borders.

This research recovers personally for the participants, and uncovers more widely for a non-Hispanic audience, how the negative perceptions and castigation of people of Mexican origin are interlaced with the power relations and socioeconomic structure in the United States (Villenas & Dehyhle, 1999). Historically, "racism and colonialism have always been interwoven" (Barndt, 2007: 15). Thus, anti-Mexican and anti-immigrant racism are the foundations for systems of exploitation and inequality. As suggested by Solórzano and Yosso (2002) the participants' counter-narratives, situated in their counter-historical context and recovered by this research, hopefully will contribute to the conscientization and building of a more politically aware and socially active community among the colonized; help to challenge the colonizers' beliefs; and oppose discursively the exclusionary notion of who "belongs" in the United States.

As undocumented immigrants, the six participants in this study have experienced anti-immigrant/anti-Mexican racism, and a system of economic, legal, and political apartheid. They have been criminalized as "illegal aliens" and have been the victims of overt and institutionalized discrimination; anti-immigrant legislation; economic exploitation; and, in spite of their academic success in the community college, they have

had only limited access to educational opportunities. For those who remain undocumented, their modest educational achievement has been truncated by the impossibility to sell their skills in the open labor market. Through this research, the overriding hope is that information from their life histories can help to create the conditions for a more successful and egalitarian educational environment for other people of Mexican origin who (re)discover themselves on what the racially hegemonic narrative proclaims as the "wrong" side of the border.

## The Development of Critical Awareness

Public education is not a Mexican or a citizenship issue, but a human rights and an economic issue. Therefore, the traditional concept of citizenship must be challenged and replaced by a multidimensional, humane notion of membership in a community (Heater, 1999). Furthermore, since nation states are becoming increasingly heterogeneous, citizenship "must be understood and studied as a mosaic of identities, duties and rights rather than a unitary concept" (Idem.: 114). Thus, undocumented students who live in the U.S. permanently should have access to academic, financial, social, and legal support. It is in the public interest that these members of society be allowed to develop their full academic and economic potential. Even from a purely pragmatic and utilitarian perspective, they would become more productive citizens, would pay higher taxes, and would cost the state less in welfare expenses. Additionally, the significantly younger population of Mexican origin would support the nation's strained social security system. As permanent community members, irrespective of citizenship status, they contribute to the local tax base through rent and property payments, sales tax, and other service fees, and therefore should also have access to the benefits provided by these taxes. Public education should not be limited to those holding *de jure* citizenship status, but should be accessible to all permanent members of a community. Otherwise, the negative impact of allowing the growing population of undocumented immigrants to live as an underclass of silenced sub-citizens will be felt sooner than later.

As other researchers have previously found (Cabrera and Padilla, 2004; Gándara, 1995), the narratives in this thesis corroborate that great adversity is not a guarantee for educational failure. The denial of citizenship did not stop the participants from earning degrees from a community college. Nevertheless, their educational achievements cannot

be openly utilized in the labor market and higher educational aspirations are banned to them. Furthermore, these immigrants had prerogatives that new legislation in Arizona will not grant current undocumented students such as instate tuition, special college programs, and driver's licenses. However, the participants understand that as ant-immigrant legislation becomes more adverse in Arizona and their educational aspirations are obstructed, the state's economy still needs their entrepreneurship, skills, and hard work. As a businessman, Roberto is very aware of the economic pull factor in the U.S., the harsh working conditions of undocumented people, and their difficulties to obtain an education:

> Roberto:
> As long as there is work, people will keep on coming (I: 526).
>
> [Referring to the work conditions of some undocumented workers]:
> ...Sheer exploitation (II: 41).
>
> Many people do want to go to school to learn English, but they either pay for school or pay the rent, utilities, all that... (II: 49-50).

The counter-stories in this research show that, as undocumented immigrants, the participants have lived under great stress, in fear of being detected, sometimes working an excessive number of hours, and facing many obstacles to improve their education. At times, a sense of hopelessness has invaded some of them. Nevertheless, they have been able to regain their unwavering optimism about the future, one of the factors that appears to have helped the participants succeed academically. Other factors that encouraged them to achieve their educational goals were their family solidarity, the positive influence of parents, their own commitment to education; their preservation of Mexican cultural values and language, and the role of key individuals and institutions that helped to guide them through challenges. Incredibly, one community college counselor was named by three of the interviewees as a source of support. This single individual probably has changed the lives of many immigrant students, both documented and undocumented.

The participants' narratives also suggest that the flexibility and responsiveness of educational institutions can be important factors in the educational achievement of immigrant students. As revealed by David, Jesenia, Justo, Marina, and Rosario, programs for minorities, scholarships, and support from counselors and tutors helped the participants achieve their goals. Their narratives also corroborate previous findings that recommend the creation of caring environments with staff of Mexican origin and support

services that are culturally sensitive. Rosario still saves the business card of the counselor who helped her to get into college and changed her life. The counselor is no longer at the community college and the program that helped Rosario no longer exists, but she has not forgotten the positive impact they had on her life.

> Rosario:
> I still keep that business card because it was my ticket to what I am today. It was Irma Rodriguez [a counselor of Mexican origin], who was in charge of the Women in Progress program [a college program for single mothers] (III: 160-162).

The number of people of Mexican origin enrolling in community colleges is growing rapidly. Many of them are first generation immigrants, both documented and undocumented. In Arizona it is increasingly difficult to address the needs of these students due to the legally sanctioned racism that prevails in the state. In the cases of the participants, their counter-stories show that they navigated in a society dominated by White culture and experienced racism and discrimination. However, some of them were not fully aware of their racialized status. Through the interviews and later interaction with the participants, mutual reflection and awareness about their circumstances were generated. Inherent in this work is the Freirean ideal that, in the future, the seed of "critical awareness" (Freire, 1970) will generate a process of conscientization that will lead them to transformative actions upon their world.

The raising of consciousness and focus on social action establish a link between CRT, empowerment, and praxis. Ultimately, the goal of CRT research is to produce engagement and social change. (Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba, 1991). One of the aims of this research was the development of conscientization and critical awareness through the transformative power of human interaction. Thus, in defiance of traditional research norms, after the interviews I kept in touch with the participants and helped them think critically about their situation. In order to counter their internalization of the hegemonic conscience and their self-deprecation, I emphasized to Jesenia and Marina that they may be undocumented inhabitants of Arizona, but no human being is illegal. I connected David with a counselor at the community college so he could finish a course that he needed to earn his Associate's degree. Sometimes Rosario and I converge in community events and we discuss the challenges we face when trying to help immigrant students succeed academically. I encouraged Rosario to consider a degree in Mexican American studies and Justo to work on a Master's degree. I compiled a list of organizations and

individuals that offer scholarships without citizenship or official residency requirements and shared it with the participants. I also encouraged three of the participants to share their stories with the Center for Community Change, a Washington, D.C. organization that uses immigrants' stories to promote policy changes in Congress.

Through this work, we established a dialogue and a dynamic process where critical interaction helped us achieve a new level of understanding of the "other" within ourselves. As part of the dialogue, the six interviewees reviewed their own story synopsis and determine whether it was an accurate representation of their narrative. After the interviews, it was important that the participants understood my perspective and their positive contribution to society. Together we are contributing to the construction of a shared history of undocumented Mexican immigrants, which will help preserve a counter-hegemonic memory for future generations. This is a process that did not start with this research project and does not end as this dissertation comes to a close.

## Recommendations for Community Colleges

Colleges and educational institutions in Arizona and in other heavily Hispanic populated areas of the country must recognize national demographic trends and the "Latinization of America" with everything it entails for the future of the country. The sooner they do this, the faster they will be able to address the serious perils that the educational underdevelopment of this population involves. Undocumented Mexican immigrants are only a small portion of the total Hispanic population. However, as pointed out by Dr. Roy Flores, Chancellor of Pima Community College District, unless all undocumented immigrants are deported, "they are going to be part of the future workforce" (Flores, 2007). The United States' globally competitive economy is requiring more knowledgeable workers with higher education degrees. The U.S. has a ready-made population of capable, deserving immigrants and "near-natives" who are waiting for the opportunity to utilize their talents. Paradoxically, like some of the cases in this study show, some of them already have degrees in high-demand professions that they cannot use because of their immigration status.

There is a need for a more extensive account of the experiences of people of Mexican origin and Latinos/Hispanics in general in community colleges (Lujan *et al.* 2003). The

following recommendations for community colleges are based on my experience as a community college educator and administrator, the literature reviewed for this research, my personal interpretation of the in-depth interviews, and my professional intuition. The recommendations are not entirely applicable in Arizona due to the anti-immigrant legislation enacted in the state. Nonetheless, they may have full applicability in other states where undocumented immigrants are granted the benefits of basic human rights and justice, including public higher education. As the nation realizes that undocumented immigrants are a valuable resource that can bring socioeconomic and cultural strength, these strategies may be implemented to foster academic achievement in all Mexican immigrant students (see also Alvarez McHartton *et al.*, 2006; Bohon *et al.*, 2005; Cabrera and Padilla, 2004; Ensher and Murphy, 1997; Gibson, 1998; Gibson and Bejínez, 2002; Love, 2004; Martinez and Fernández, 2004; Salas, 2003; Stewart, 1998; Tinto, 1987; Valencia, 2002):

- Encourage students of Mexican origin during their high school years to participate in activities that better prepare them for college, including information programs explaining enrollment requirements, deadlines, and college regulations.

- Expand communication between families and the middle schools and high schools their children attend. Students of Mexican origin who need the most information about college are usually the ones who get the least.

- Promote the "culture of college" and its social networks (family and peer support, college connections, and other systems) by offering advice to students and parents about the knowledge necessary to succeed in college. The counter-histories in this research corroborate Ensher and Murphy's (1997) emphasis on the importance of family mentors.

- Work in partnership with business and industry to create and expand programs, cooperative education, apprenticeships, and other models that help students to develop their skills for the workforce.

- Create concurrent parent and student educational programs. For example, weekend events for immigrant families that include career planning, educational support services, and community resource education. Hispanic/Mexican-origin role models should be used to validate the culture and language of the family. Support to encourage attendance is necessary and it could include meals, transportation, attractions, educational prizes, and others.

- Expand agreements with universities to encourage students to transfer and pay more attention to community college transfer students of Mexican origin. Community colleges enroll 55% of Hispanic students and the majority of them are of Mexican descent. Many of these students are more committed and motivated after attending a two-year college and should be vigorously recruited by four-year institutions.

- Simplify financial aid processes and establish financial literacy programs for students and parents. While more Latinos than average apply for financial aid, in general they receive less financial aid in college than any other ethnic group.

- Establish conscientization programs in high schools and community colleges that help students learn about their communities, their historical background, and challenges they face as a community.

- Develop a caring environment where counseling, tutoring, and mentoring programs emphasize that students are persons of worth and have great potential.

- Recruit personnel of Mexican/Hispanic and immigrant origin to serve as role models, as well as culturally and linguistically competent educators, counselors, staff, and administrators.

- Establish training programs for all personnel addressing minority student needs and the challenges of institutional discrimination and unintentional racism.

- Encourage students to become proficient in English *and* Spanish. As demonstrated by the counter-narratives in this research, acculturation without assimilation can allow students to navigate between contexts and be academically successful.

- Defy the "master narrative" that explains differences as deficits. Promote the counter-stories and the voices of students of Mexican origin, their families, and their communities.

- In order to be successful, these initiatives must be reflected in institutional strategic planning, with appropriate budget allocations to meet these goals.

As a final example of how an immigrant student can succeed if given the opportunity to become "legalized" in the United States, I offer my own story. Without the opportunity for legalization, I would have never completed my Master's degree in the United States or begun my career path as a community college educator and administrator, and later a doctoral student in education. My own immigrant story would have been lost in silence and anonymity, as would the voices of the students you have experienced here.

# Appendix A

# Definition of Terms and Concepts Utilized in This Study

It is important to note that the terms Mexican, Mexican-American, Hispanic, Chicano/a, and Latino/a are utilized in this study when the consulted sources specifically refer to such terms. However, research data are not always accurate in regard to identifying specific "Hispanics," and presumptions are often made that Mexicans, Chicanos/as, Latinos/as, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, etc. are all one group. Hispanics do share many cultural characteristics, but also differ in important ways. Ultimately, all of these terms are cultural and ethnic, not racial, and throughout history have had many meanings and various connotations (Meier and Ribera, 1993).

## Acculturation and Assimilation

Acculturation was first described as a cultural phenomenon by anthropologists (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936). Thus, the root word of acculturation is the term *culture*, which has been defined as "the master concept and dominant cause of almost everything in human life" (Barrett, 2002: 48). There is no scholarly agreement on a single definition but, at a simple level, culture can be understood as the learned and shared behaviors of a people that are passed on from generation to generation (*Ibid.*). Acculturation has been defined as the accommodation or adjustment by members of one culture to a different culture (Szapocznik *et al.*, 1978). Therefore, acculturation is the cultural change that results from contact between autonomous cultural groups. It can be inferred that adaptation to the cultural norms of a society is generally a prerequisite for successful progress within its socio-economic structure, including the schooling process.

In the literature, the terms *acculturation* and *assimilation* are used interchangeably (Hurtado, 1997). However, Teske and Nelson (1974) have argued that they are, in fact, two different processes. From their perspective, the process of assimilation (see table 1) is interconnected to the model of internal colonialism, where cultural adaptation is the result of the economic structures created by the U.S. capitalist system and by the labor and power relations that engender such a mode of production (Almaguer, 1974). In this thesis, the term acculturation is similar to Teske's and Nelson's, implying *adaptation* or cultural change without renunciation to values or reference groups. However, since the process may also involve acculturation of values, any level of acculturation could easily involve a degree of assimilation. According to Kornblum (1994), assimilation is the

process of absorbing one cultural group into a dominant community, and the only way for culturally distinct groups to acquire equal statuses in the social groups and institutions of the "host civilization" (123).

**Table 4. Comparison of the salient characteristics of acculturation and assimilation.**

| Acculturation | Assimilation |
|---|---|
| 1. A dynamic process | 1. A dynamic process |
| 2. May be treated as either an individual or a group process | 2. May be treated as either an individual or a group process |
| 3. Involves direct contact | 3. Involves direct contact |
| 4. Two-way: It may occur in both directions | 4. Unidirectional |
| 5. Does not require change in values, though values may be acculturated | 5. Change in values required |
| 6. Reference group change not required | 6. Reference group change required |
| 7. Internal change not required | 7. Internal change required |
| 8. Out-group acceptance not required | 8. Out-group acceptance required |

Source: Teske and Nelson (1974).

## Anglo-American

The American Heritage Dictionary defines the term as: "An American, especially an inhabitant of the United States, whose language and ancestry are English." Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary does not privilege U.S. inhabitants over Canadians and defines the term as: "A North American whose native language is English and whose culture is of English origin" (44). Huntington (2004a and 2004b) has defined the United States identity as "Anglo-Protestant" with a Creed of liberty and democracy. He argues that the Anglo-Protestant culture is not compatible with Hispanic culture and sees the ideologies of multiculturalism and diversity, as well as immigration from Mexico, as threats to "American identity" (*Ibid.*). Thus, for Huntington, the Anglo-American nation and culture should be assimilated by all Americans; immigrants should adhere to Anglo-Protestant values, maintain their European cultural heritage, speak English, and commit to the principles of the Creed (see 2004b: 20). Interestingly, Charles Taylor (quoted by Rivera, 2006) has argued that democracy (the Anglo-Protestant Creed according to Huntington) "is *inclusive* because it is founded on the representation of a common people –the *demos*– but, paradoxically, this is also the reason that democracy

leans toward exclusion" (14). Others also have identified an "Anglo-American nation" as a distinct racial community belonging to the Caucasian group (Josiah Nott quoted by Lind, 1996: 30). According to Lind (1996), most of the elite who founded the country were opposed to immigration of non-Anglo-Saxons to the U.S. The first Naturalization Act passed by Congress in 1790 only allowed citizenship to "free white persons" (*Ibid.*). The shortened term "Anglo" has been commonly utilized by CRT scholars and other U.S. researchers and writers of racial issues (see for example Bender and Ruiz, 1974; Kent-Monning, 2002; Rivera, 2006; and Wong, 2006). It is the exclusionary notion of Anglo-Protestant-Americanism that these researchers criticize and this study rejects.

## Castification

An institutionalized form of exploitation of one group by another. The group that is the victim of castification is effectively reduced to a lower caste status that cannot enjoy the same rights and obligations possessed by the dominant group (Trueba, 1993).

## Chicano/Chicana

Most commonly understood, the term refers to people of Mexican origin born in the United States. Chicanos strongly identify themselves with Mexican traditions and with the pre-Columbian cultures of Mexico and largely reject U.S. mainstream values. The term Chicano apparently derives from *Mexicano*. It originated in the first decades of the 19th century in the south of the U.S. as a derogatory term used by landowners to refer to their Mexican workers (Sotomayor, 1983). During the Civil Rights movement, the term acquired a new political connotation. It became increasingly popular on U.S. college campuses during the late 1960s, when many students adopted it as a sign of ethnic pride and political defiance (University of New Mexico, 2004). Today, many Americans of Mexican descent utilize the words *Chicana* or *Chicano* as a unique identity claim and some even reject to be addressed either as "Mexican" or "American." They see themselves as a colonized community and are generally more politicized than other citizens of Mexican ancestry. Therefore, self-defining Chicanos represent a socio-cultural and political movement, but their consciousness does not necessarily reflect the views of most people of Mexican origin. In fact, precisely because the term refers to a socio-cultural experience in the U.S. and it implies a political stance, even people born in Mexico can define themselves as "Chicano" (Valencia, 2002).

Duncan-Andrade (2005) points out that the term Chicano has at least two distinct meanings: it can refer to a person's political identity or to their socioethnic background. "The flexibility of the term allows it to take on different meanings for different people, giving it the strength of diversity, much like the varied group of people finding themselves united under it (*Ibid.*: 578). Finally, it is important to point out that strong class and race prejudices exist between Mexicans born in Mexico and Mexicans born in the United States. In Mexico's classicistic society, the term Chicano may allude to a person of low origins and poor education who lives or has lived in the U.S. Thus, some Mexicans and self-defined Mexican-Americans find it offensive to be addressed as Chicano.

## Conscientization

In Freirean pedagogy, this term refers to the promotion of "...reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (Freire 1970: 33). Paulo Freire's work aimed at empowering the oppressed and awakening their critical consciousness or awareness about the fundamental sociopolitical conditions shaping their lives. Through this pedagogy, the intellectual transformation of the learner can lead to action toward political and social transformation. Conscientization must be developed through a "dialogical process" that produces generative themes that ultimately may incite reflective action (*Ibid.*). According to Freirean followers, this dialogical education has the potential to transform those who are objects into subjects capable of changing history and the world. Thus, conscientization also means "learning to perceive social, economic, and political contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (*Ibid.*: 19).

## Hegemony and Racial Hegemony

From a sociologic, neo-Marxist perspective, hegemony represents the power of the dominant capitalist classes to obtain the consent of the working class to its own exploitation (Arena, 2003). Gold (2004) argues that inequalities in the United States are reproduced through a system of racial hegemony that tolerates certain advances by racialized people and, "at the same time, produces outcomes that are not so different from long-standing patterns of inequality" (963). The struggle for hegemony is a dynamic, ongoing process that involves a combination of practices (some of them repressive) in the ideological, economic, and political dimensions (Arena, 2003). Within these dimensions, and in the specific contexts of corporations, states, and markets, the dominant classes develop different forms of control depending on race and gender (*Ibid.*). From the

educational perspective, Jay (2003) argues that the hidden curriculum of hegemony allows educational institutions to support multicultural programs, while simultaneously restricting the transformative potential of multicultural education. From her perspective, multicultural education has been appropriated as a "hegemonic device" that perpetuates the position of power of the dominant groups in society.

## Hispanic(s)

The official definition of Hispanic in the United States encompasses those citizens or residents who either speak Spanish as a native language or have some ancestor who did, even if these individuals speak only English (Fox, 1996). They trace their origin to four major geographical areas: Spain, Central America/Mexico, South America, and the Caribbean basin (Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico). The use of the noun "Hispanic" can only emphasize the common denominator of language, since the individuals do not have a common biological descent. According to the Census Bureau, Hispanics can be of any race (Martin and Gerber, 2005), and they can also be of any religion and any citizenship status. In reality, not even all of them share the same mother tongue (some only speak English). Additionally, there are Filipinos, Mayans, Quechuas, and so forth whose ancestors may never have mastered Spanish, but who had Spanish surnames imposed on them by their conquerors. These minorities are often given, and sometimes willingly take up, the label "Hispanic" (Fox, 1996). This phenomenon also occurs with many indigenous peoples from Mexico (Tarahumaras, Tarascos, Zapotecs, etc.) who are labeled "Mexican" or "Mexican-American." These Amerindians, because of racism and discrimination, often have disavowed their origins even before they immigrated to the United States (Castellanos Guerrero, 2001; de Leff, 2002).

## Internal Colonialism

Barrera (1979: 194) defines this concept as "a relationship of domination and subordination which are defined along ethnic and/or racial lines when the relationship is established or maintained to serve the interests of all or part of the dominant group." Internal colonialism theory emphasizes that just as institutional discrimination can be widespread with or without the intention of individuals, governments create, legitimize, and maintain subordination of the oppressed classes (Martínez, 1999). De Genova (2005) argues that the Mexican labor immigration system is a kind of "imported colonialism" that has produced an agricultural proletariat within the national space, but excluded from the national polity.

## Internalized Oppression

Occurs when the oppressed/colonized individual legitimizes the dominant group's view of him/her as an inferior "other" and, "consequently, will lead to a process of inferiorized personas reproducing their own oppression (Mullaly, 1997: 151).

## Latino(s)

Broadly the term in the United States refers to "a person of Latin-American ancestry in general" (Samora and Vandel-Simon, 1993). The term Latino, and "Latin," as is commonly used in the U.S. is also utilized as a synonym of "Hispanic." However, such connotation is inaccurate and can easily create confusion. Accurately speaking, the adjective "Latino" relates to the languages that developed from Latin, such as Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, or to the peoples who speak them. In this sense, Latinos are really any of the peoples who trace their origins to those countries. Revealingly, as utilized in the U.S., the term generally excludes Hispanics from Europe or Latinos from other European nations. Nevertheless, such connotation is so widely used in the United States that the U.S. Census Bureau defines Latino and Hispanic as synonymous terms (U.S. Census, 2006b).

## Mexican(s)

When this term refers to people living in the United States, it mostly refers to documented or undocumented people born in Mexico who are now permanent or temporary residents. Some Amerindians born in Mexico (legally they are Mexican citizens), who now live in the United States, willingly assume the labels "Mexican" and "Mexican-American." However, many of them are proud of their ancestral origin and, although they do not reject the Mexican culture (most of them speak Spanish and share religious, musical, culinary, and other Mexican traditions) they identify themselves more with Chicanos than with Mexicans. They argue that the myth of racial democracy in Mexico is easily shattered by the fact that Mexicans on the lighter end of the color-race spectrum hold profound prejudices against those toward the darker end (NACLA, 1992). See also "Chicano/Chicana" and "Hispanic."

In the most ample sense of the concept, Mexicans are the result of the fusion of European, mostly Spanish, and Amerindian cultures. Although the ethnic categories are questionable, according to the CIA World Fact Book (CIA, 2006), more than 60% of

Mexicans are "Mestizo," (a mix of Amerindian-Spanish), while the Amerindian and predominantly Amerindian populations are nearly 30%. Only 9% of Mexicans are Caucasian and 1% belong to a multitude of ethnic backgrounds. Mexico's population is 107.5 million, with a net migration rate of -4.87 migrant(s)/1,000 population (*ibid.*). The great majority of this large emigration flow goes to the United States.

## Mexican-American(s)

The quick definition of Mexican-American is "an American of Mexican descent" (Samora and Vandel-Simon, 1993). Mexican-Americans, however, are not a monolithic population. They are the largest Hispanic sub-minority in the U.S., the members of which are themselves very diverse in social, economic, and cultural experiences. Many Mexican-Americans are assimilated within the dominant society and they do not necessarily exalt their Mexican ancestry. Mexican-American is a term "used by many scholars and activists as a more descriptive but less political term. It is also a term that has been more commonly used by segments of the community" (Nieto, 1996, 24). The use of the term "Mexican-American" in this study has more to do with categorizing and specifically designating this group in order to provide consistency within the existing academic discussion. Therefore, in this research Mexican-American refers to all people of Mexican ancestry.

Many people of Mexican ancestry living in the United States are the descendants of people who were in these lands long before it became the United States of America. Others are the offspring of more recent immigrants who have come from the most impoverished rural areas in Mexico. Some of them come from destitute urban areas, expelled from their homes by the economic failures of the Mexican economic paradigm. Yet, the most recent settlers increasingly come from more educated sectors and include professionals and technicians from different fields. The complexity of this population is not only a result of their different socio-economic, historical and geographic origins, but is also due to the different realities in which they live, whether as fully assimilated citizens or as members of a cultural minority that resists change. Some of them identify themselves simply as Mexican. Others think of themselves as Mexican-Americans, and yet another group specifically wants to be addressed as "Chicanos." This research does not negate any of these terms as valid identifiers, although the designation "Mexican-American" is predominantly utilized as inclusive of all these terms due to its prevailing use in the literature.

## Mexican-American/Hispanic culture.

According to Loida C. Velázquez (2004), a Mexican-American scholar from the University of Tennessee, Mexican-Americans have in common important cultural characteristics with the rest of Hispanics. They possess values that have been classified into four groups. It is not the intention of this research to explore all of these dimensions, but they may serve as a point of reference for the reader:

1. Loyalty and identification with family, community, and ethnic group:
   a) They use Spanish when among Hispanics
   b) Students see achievement as "for the family"
   c) Cooperation is valued over individual achievement or competitive achievement.

2. Personalization of interpersonal relationships:
   a) Sensitivity to the feelings of others
   b) Expectation that the other person be aware of my feelings (i.e. Won't ask for help)
   c) Extended family concept, two or more generations in the same household;
   d) Friends can become part of the extended family (i.e., *padrinos* or godfathers).

3. Well-defined status in family and community:
   a) Everybody is expected to know his/her role and responsibility;
   b) Age and gender determine the role. The older the person, the more respect expected;
   c) Learning social roles and behaviors is as important as academic education (i.e., a "bien educado" or well educated person is not the one with the most schooling but the one who knows best how to behave in social occasions);
   d) Parents teach by modeling behavior, modeling a preferred teaching style.

4. Identification with Catholic ideology:
   a) Emphasis on respect for the conventional way of doing things;
   b) Disrespect and rebelliousness are considered sinful

## Racialization

It is the process by which racial formation emerges. Such a process is dynamic and multidimensional and it can involve coercive social practices, a foundation for class formation, an ideological pretext for economic domination and nation building, among others (Winant, 1994). In turn, the corresponding social practices are institutionalized, "racial meanings are attributed, and racial identities assigned" (*Ibid.*: 23).

## Racism(s)

Racism has been defined in multiple contexts and with many adjectives: **class racism** (Nearman, 2002), **defensive racism** (Steele, 2004), **environmental racism** (Checker, 2005), **ethnoracism** (Aranda and Rebollo-Gil, 2004), **historiographic racism** (Goggin, 1984), **passive racism** (Marx, 2006), **reverse racism** (Derman-Sparks *et al.*, 1997; O'Sullivan, 1995; Steele, 2004), **welfare racism** (Neubeck, 2001), and others. In this study, racism refers to "practices which restrict the chances of success of individuals from a particular racial or ethnic group, and which are based on, or legitimized by, some form of belief that this racial or ethnic group is inherently morally, culturally, or intellectually inferior" (Peter Foster cited by Gillborn, 1995: 57 and 1998: 43). This traditional concept of racism involves an element of discriminatory action and the superiority-inferiority dichotomy, but excludes **institutionalized racism**. Thus, as Gillborn (1995/1998) points out, 'unintentional' or institutional racism also must be taken into account when defining the concept. Through institutionalized racism, people and organizations carry out biased practices that are not intended to be racist, but are discriminatory in their effects (Gillborn, 1998). Darder (1991) defines institutional racism as "a form of racial discrimination that is woven into the fabric of the power relations, social arrangements and practices through which collective actions result in the use of race as a criterion to determined who is rewarded in society" (41).

From a CRT approach, race and racism can be incorporated in all stages of the research process (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Furthermore, CRT challenges traditional definitions and discourses on race, gender, and class arguing that these three elements actually converge to shape the experiences of the oppressed (*Ibid.*). In the specific case of people of Mexican origin, researchers have referred to **anti-Mexican racism** (De Genova, 2005; Fuentes, 2004; Mariscal, 2005; Pulido, 2007; Rojas, 2001) and the **anti-immigrant racism** (De Genova, 2005) directed against Mexicans. In his doctoral dissertation, Rojas (2001) argues that between 1910 and the 1930s, when hundreds of thousands of Mexicans

entered the U.S., they found themselves in a situation of "super-inferiority." Mexican racism clashed with U.S. racism against Mexicans, who were inferiorized beneath Jews and Asians, alongside African-Americans in the U.S. racial hierarchy. In other words, Mexicans in the U.S. became more inferior than those they had learned to regard as inferior (Rojas, 2001:16). It could be argued that, similarly in our day, as the U.S. is experiencing a great flow of Mexican immigrants, they are being "super-inferiorized" by new forms of Anti-Mexican racism.

Another definition of racism that concerns this study is **internalized racism**, where the person internalizes negative stereotypes of his/her own racial group and self-devalues (Cokley, 2002; Kich, 1992). Such negative stereotypes can become a vicious circle that fuels the marginalized status of the racial group and, consequently, reinforces the stereotypes (Cokley, 2002). Similarly, Freire (1970) and García (2004) and Mullaly (1997) argue that the oppressed can internalize the conscience and dominant values of the oppressors and come to despise their own race (see also definition of "internalized oppression" in this Appendix). From a CRT perspective, narratives and stories like the ones revealed by this research help the oppressed to create a shared memory and history (what is counter-history today may be official history tomorrow) (Villenas and Deyhle, 1999). Equally important, community memory and history help to repel the internalization of the colonizer's mentality and the self-blame produced by racist structures (*Idem*). Finally, as our counter-history shows, the concept of "**crisis racism**" (Goldberg, 2002) can be utilized to explicate the anti-immigrant movement referred to in this study. Crisis racism can be explained as "a common disposition to ascribe social threat to an outside, whether an internalized exterior, the alien within, or the stranger without" (*Ibid.*: 247). Currently, prominent scholars and politicians like Huntington (2004) and Buchanan (2002) incarnate this type of racism and openly speak about the "Mexican threat."

# Appendix B

## CONSENT FORM

**TITLE OF PROJECT:**
**Educational achievement of Mexican Immigrants in the face of adversity: Counter-history and counter-narratives of community college graduates in Arizona**

(The participant should complete the whole of this sheet himself/herself)

*Please cross out as necessary*

Have you read the Participant Information Sheet? YES / NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study? YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions? YES / NO

Have you received enough information about the study? YES / NO

Who have you spoken to?
Dr/Mr/Mrs/Ms/Prof. .....

Do you consent to participate in the study? YES / NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

* at any time and
* without having to give a reason for withdrawing and
* without affecting you in any way? YES / NO

Do you grant Ricardo Castro Salazar permission to record your interviews for the purposes of this research?* YES / NO

**Signed** ..... **Date** _____

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)

.....

*Tape recording is only for the purpose of transcription accuracy. If permission for recording is granted, all tapes will be destroyed at the end of the project. If permission to tape record is not granted, transcripts will be recorded by hand writing at the moment of the interviews.

# Appendix C

## INFORMATION SHEET

**TITLE OF PROJECT:**

**Educational achievement of Mexican immigrants in the face of adversity: Counter-history and counter-narratives of community college graduates in Arizona**

**PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH:**

People of Mexican origin in the United States have higher dropout rates in higher education than other minorities. Mexican immigrants face ever harsher educational challenges, especially if they are undocumented. However, in spite of many obstacles, some of them are able graduate successfully. The purpose of this study is to learn from successful Mexican immigrants' life histories. The study results will be shared within the educational arena for planning action.

**OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH:**

I am asking Mexican immigrants who have graduated from a community college in Arizona, or who have used the community college system to obtain a higher degree, to be part of this study. The participants do not come from economically privileged backgrounds, but have found a way to pay for college and succeed in their academic goals. Four participants are undocumented immigrants and two are naturalized citizens or permanent residents.

If you agree to take part in this study, your participation will involve two or three interviews that may last several hours. The interviews will have three parts. The first part will focus on your life history, a second part will focus on your experiences as an immigrant student, and a third part will focus on your opinions and feelings about your life in the United States. With your consent, the interviews will be tape-recorded for best transcription accuracy. Interviews can be conducted partially or fully in Spanish if you prefer.

**DECLARATION TO PARTICIPANTS:**

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. You will not be taped without giving written consent. You may choose not to discuss a question or topic. You may withdraw from the study at any time. To withdraw will not affect you in any way. You will not be identified in any publication/dissemination of research findings without your explicit consent. All research participants will be identified with a pseudonym to be applied at the transcription stage. All your information will be held confidential. Research files and interview recordings will be destroyed at the end of the project. All consent forms will be kept separate. Your name or a coded number will not be on typed interviews or typed discussions. If any further analysis is conducted with the study, further ethics approval will be sought first.

There is little risk for you in this study. Talking about your life history and your experiences as an immigrant might create unpleasant feelings or concerns. However, all interaction with the researcher will be in an atmosphere of mutual respect. Benefits for you include the chance to talk and reflect about your academic success, your challenges, and your career plans.

**RESEARCHER INFORMATION:**

**Ricardo Castro Salazar, M.A., M.Ed.**
**1670 N. Clifton. Tucson, AZ 85745. USA**
**Telephone: 520-207-0607**
**E-mail: ricardo.castro-salazar@durham.ac.uk**

***Approved by Durham University's Ethics Advisory Committee***

# Appendix D

## Sample Interview Transcript

The following sample transcription is from the interview with Justo. The transcripts show the complexity of analyzing this type of data in a multilingual/multicultural context. Although five participants mostly utilized Spanish, English was also spoken in many portions of their interviews. David, the participant who chose to give his interview in English, also utilized Spanish, while all of the interviewees expressed ideas and feelings with idioms, slang, regionalisms (both in English and Spanish), and terms from *Spanglish*. This precluded or made impractical the use of transcription and analysis software applications. Therefore, the use of color coding/highlighting and the word processor's search functions served as tools to identify and follow patterns and key issues throughout the interviews. The transcripts contain "commentary boxes" in two colors, pointing out ideas, patterns and connections. The blue boxes show the transcriber's perspective, whose research experience and U.S. upbringing/culture helped me reflect on and analyze the data more effectively. The support as a transcriber and the intellectual feedback from Kelley Merriam-Castro was also essential in the complex translation process, since her first language is English and mine is Spanish. Engaging in such bicultural (Mexican and U.S.) analysis and intellectual dialogue was essential in the process of making meaning out of the life histories elicited through the interviews.

The names of the community college the participants attended, of other educational institutions, of towns, and of people in the narratives were omitted or changed for their protection.

**Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**Dissertation Research**
**Interview VI – Part I – 01:34:18**

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

# Interview VI – Part I – 01:34:18

R: Bueno, aquí estamos... ya estamos grabando. Y la primera pregunta es: ¿Cómo dirías tu historia? ¿Cuáles han sido algunas de tus... de tus experiencias más formativas, o que te han formado como... como persona?
I: (affirmative noises)
R: ¿Decidimos que vamos a hacer la entrevista en español?
I: Sí en español puede ser. Como te digo, si tú quieres que empecemos en inglés, podemos hacerlo en inglés. No más para quitarte la... la... el paso extra de tenerla que traducir. A mí me es la... la misma. Aunque hay... hay cosas que... *if I quote something,* va a ser en el idioma en que me dijeron para... para que salga mejor.
R: *That´s fine. Or... or we can do it both in English and Spanish...*
I: *Okay*
R: *...as you feel more... more comfortable.*
I: Sí. Sí. Y lo más fácil cuando te cuento historias de mi familia va a ser en español, porque, como pasaron las cosas, así es como las recuerdo.
R: (affirmative noises)
00:00:57
I: Y... historias como la de escuela, esta que te voy a contar, y todo eso, va a ser tal vez en inglés, porque así pasó.
R: Está muy bien
I: (speaking over) O sea que... okay. Pues, es de...
R: (speaking over) Siempre puedes hacerlo como prefieras...
I: Okay.
R: Em... la... la historia que me vas a platicar, la voy a escribir tal como me la vas a platicar...
I: (affirmative noises)
R: ...sea en inglés o en español.
I: (affirmative noises)
R: Y después de que ya tenga yo esa transcripción, voy a hacer el análisis, que va a ser en inglés, porque es una tesis en inglés...
I: (affirmative noises)
R Em, pero... pero el... la fuente puede venir en el idioma que tú quieras.
I: Okay.
R: Entonces, ¿cuál sería tu historia? ¿Cómo platicarías tú... tu historia?
I: Mi historia es... es un poco diferente yo pienso, tal vez a otros que se relacionan igual. Pero... algo que... que hace mi historia única es de que muchas veces he estado en.. en.. ¿cómo te puedo decir? ... en... juntas... o esas actividades que hacen como... para... para ver los retos de tu vida, adónde te han llevado y cómo te has formado. Y... y muchas veces, lo que comprueban es que la gente que ha crecido con recursos limitados... te hacen preguntas como, "Quién creció con más de un libro en su casa?" y algunos levantan la mano. Y por lo general, los que más levantan la mano, y que son quiénes sus padres fueron a la universidad... esos que levantan la mano, por lo general en ese tipo de juegos terminan más adelante que los que no, y.... y es para comprobar como el

**Comment:** We have a very explicit statement of a type of compartmentalized bilingualism here.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

privilegio te... te… te puede avanzar a ti más en la vida, y... y te digo que la mía es un poco... única, porque cuando yo nací en México, nací en una situacíon económica privilegiada. Sin embargo, a causa de ciertos eventos en mi familia, y de ciertas cosas, eh... a mi edad de doce años ya es cuando mi papá había perdido todo sus bienes y todo con lo que crecimos. Y al venir a este país, vinimos de una manera... literalmente sin nada. Entonces, entonces preguntan, "¿Quién creció... quiénes de sus padres, los dos fueron a la universidad?" Yo levanto la mano. Sin embargo, siempre...

00:03:04

como me dicen... riego... el experimento, porque termino adelante cuando (inaudible) a pesar de que llegué aquí… llegué sin siquiera cubiertos, sin ninguna cobija. Entonces, la vida en México fue de una manera, y la vida en Estados Unidos fue de otra manera. Y... por lo tanto, cuando estaba en mi ciudad en México, mis papás siempre me metían en la escuela privada bilingüe, que fue como pude aprender inglés. Cuando vine acá, no puedo decir que el idioma fue un gran reto. Por la manera que contara mi vida, fue que naci en una familia priveligiada económicamente en ese tiempo, bajo la circunstancias que pasaron, perdimos todo, y no había otro más que empezar de nuevo en México o empezar de nuevo aquí. Y mis papás dicidieron venirnos para acá. Y literalmente empezaron ellos con cero, como familia, y poco a poco, gracias a Dios, no es que nada lo que puedo decir gracias a Dios, no como un dicho sino como una realidad, es lo que más nos hizo salir adelante... (inaudible) suerte y fea, pues sabe que todo el mundo alrededor de nosotros estaba cayendo, teníamos algo de que tomarnos, y ... Eso que para cualquiér persona siempre (inaudible) de que tú puedes tomar, de que sabes que... no fallar. Y para nosotros fue nuestra relación con Dios y... y eso fue lo que nos mantuvo juntos... nos mantuvo sanos... eh... la palabra, en inglés, es *sane*. Sin volverse loco. ¿Verdad?...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...o sea, porque... para alguien como mi papá que... que... él nació privilegiado también, y a sus treinta y tantos años cambiaron el estilo de vida por completo a... a pobreza de no tener carro, y... la casa siendo... e, hipotecada por el banco... y... eso fue un tranze duro para él. Pero... pero gracias a Dios lo... lo superamos. Porque siempre ha sido una persona humilde. Entonces pudimos hacer ese cambio. Quizá la historia de mi vida... fuera de otra manera, pues vinimos aquí de esa situación, y ahorita estamos luchando para cambiar. Cuando vinimos para acá, nos vinimos por nuestras malas experiencias en México, pero sin dejar atrás nuestra cultura y herencia mexicana, aunque cortando lazos, con ninguna intención de regresar. Con ninguna intención de regresar.

00:05:11

Tengo familia que ha venido y... no han vendido su casa hasta cinco, diez años después, o... aún como que decían, o, en caso de que falle aquí, nos regresamos para allá. Pero nosotros, como no teníamos nada allá, nos vinimos como el toro. Simplemente nos tiramos de... de frente, de cabeza, a la vida de aquí, y... nos olvidamos de cualquiér posibilidad de regresar allá. Veíamos el regresar como un fracaso. De no haber tampoco... como dice... hecho aquí. Entonces, nos

**Comment:** So is Justo's family another victim of the financial crisis of the 1980s in Mexico? His situation can be compared somewhat to Rosario's, then. It is interesting that these are the two participants who wound up with papers. Was there ability to get their papers related to intitial education levels? To their "originating class"? To the education levels of their parents?

**Comment:** It might be interesting to look at a comparison regarding their linguistic challenges. Did Rosario study English in Mexico, since she was also of a somewhat higher social class in the early years of her life?

**Comment:** This is a key point, that the family had nothing and saw a choice between staying in Mexico to rebuild or coming to the US. They chose the US... which must have seemed like the option with the greatest chance for success at the time.

**Comment:** So another "strategy" these individuals use to maintain their strength through this difficult time is religion and their belief in God... some more than others, some in a more organized fashion than others. Justo definitely sees his relationship with God as an invaluable factor that gave him and his family the strength to go forward.

**Comment:** So he, like Marina, also emphasizes the concept of how permanently the family separation is when part of a family migrates here without papers. He also highlights the loss of their cultural heritage. All these are extremely painful losses. Someone would not take them lightly, which makes the sheer number of migrants from Mexico every year even all the more impressive. Perhaps it becomes easier to leave Mexico when one already has family in the U.S.... the loss does not seem quite as extreme in that case.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

vinimos con todo dispuestos a aculturarnos a aquí, a... y a echarle ganas a este país y... y por eso hemos podido salir adelante al nivel que estamos ahorita, que no es... como quisiéramos estar en todos los sentidos, pero... pero estamos...

R: Claro.

I: ...adelante, muchos toman… más de una generación para hacer la lucha. Mis papás vinieron aquí con ese sentido. Cuando mi papá tenía dinero, venía cuando hacía negocios con Estados Unidos y otros países, y yo venía para acá. De hecho, vine aquí... cuando estaba en primer año, creo, que pasé un tiempo aquí. Mi apá se accidentó, y tuvo que venir a recuperación aquí, y pasé otro semestre aquí de escuela, y... y mi... mi abuelo… mi bisabuelo era un cónsul mexicano aquí en la ciudad, entonces, también veníamos para acá. Y la cosa era de ida y vuelta a esta ciudad. Por negocios o por cosas políticas de mi bisabuelo. Y... y me gustaba aquí. Pero... como finalmente nos vinimos, como te digo, nos... huimos de allá y... y vinimos aquí a echarle ganas.

R: Cuando... cuando vinieron... ¿Vinieron todos al mismo tiempo? ¿Se vinieron como familia?

I: Sí. Todos.

R: Y me dices, porque... em... perdieron toda su... tu papá perdió su fortuna...

I: (affirmative noises)

R: Me decías que... también tuvo una vida muy difícil cuando vino y que empezó, incluso, haciendo trabajos de salario mínimo...

I: Sí, sí...

R: Y toda esa historia…

I: Menos de salario mínimo. De... donde estaba trabajando, **el salario mínimo era cuatro quince en ese tiempo, y a él le pagaban dos quince**. Por... pues, por la situación en la que estaba, y...

R: ¿No tenía documentos en ese momento?

I: En ese momento... entramos... entramos con pasaporte. Sin embargo, estaba... no teníamos el permiso para que mi papá trabajara.

00:07:25

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y... y pues... en México mi papá tenía... negocios de lavado de carros. Conocía muy bien ese ambiente, entonces se metió a lavar carros. Entonces lo hacía bajo... bajo este negocio, y... que... era precisamente de un familiar que era residente.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Pero... la gente se aprovecha de uno, sea familiar o no sea familiar. Entonces era un familiar de que... él que... abusó del salario de mi papá de esa manera. Y del trabajo de mi papá más que nada de esa manera. ¡Fue un familiar!

R: ¿Cómo te... cómo te afectó a tí eso? Cuando, em, cuando veías que estaban pasando por una situación tan difícil, ¿no? Y veías que tu papá estaba trabajando así...

I: Sí...

R: ¿Qué efecto tuvo en tí eso?

I: Em, fue... fue dramático. No te voy a mentir. Por el hecho de que no es como... como uno está acostumbrado a ver a su papá trabajar y... y tampoco como...

**Comment:** So this goes against the idea that Hispanic immigrants do not want to or do not intent to acculturate to this country. It is interesting that in the next line he attributes their success to their willingness to leave everything and adopt a completely new life, including the culture.

**Comment:** It is interesting that he comments on this, because this is what we see stated explicitly in Jesenia's story – that she sees herself as a lost generation, and that her children will benefit from the migration, not her. Marina refuses to believe she will never benefit, but certainly recognizes her children will be better off.

**Comment:** An example of instutionalized racism...

**Comment:** So he went from the owner of such a business to a less-than-minimum-wage earning laborer. How difficult.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

quisiera verlo trabajar, y... mi apá es una persona muy... muy fuerte en su determinación. Am... mi papá es una persona muy tímida, pero... es lo que se le llama en inglés, *behind the scenes kind of guy*. Entonces él nunca se quejaba. Él nunca... se quejaba. Llegaba a trabajar, quince horas. Después de ese trabajo, de hecho, trabajó en *Jack in the Box* por tres años, y una vez tuvo un *shift* fue de... de veintidos horas corridas. Entonces mi apá es tipo de hombre que no se quejaba. Y yo no quería incomodarlo, nunca le traía el tema de lo que yo me daba cuenta que él... sufría, o cuando él llegaba a su recamara y, obviamente adolorido por el día de trabajo, más que nada cuando estábamos en invierno, él tenía que seguir lavando carros, y... y a mi tío se le iban los empleados excepto a mi papá. Porque nesecitaba el empleo, entonces pues, le... lo obligaba el trabajo a él, le quitaba sus propinas, la mitad de ellas… O sea, era un abuso completo. Y... y era un coraje porque después teníamos que sentarnos en navidad a cenar con esa familia y... sabiendo que esas personas abusaban de mi papá de esa manera. Eh... y

00:09: 39

él es el... cuñado, el esposo de la hermana más chica, o sea que... mi papá es... como unos quince años mayor de que él, y... y... y este individuo vino.. vino de recursos muy bajos en México, para casarse con mi tía... eh... se... (inaudible) quedó con parte de la herencia que recibió mi tía a la muerte de mis abuelos. Eso lo ayudó a emigrarse a él, y a comprar un negocio aquí. Fue como compró el lavado... o sea, con el dinero de la familia de mi papá fue como él adquirió lo que adquirió. Pero... es que hay personas que nada más no... no saben apreciar ni recordar de donde vienen y... abusan aparentamente... al punto de que... no... vivíamos ni a dos cuadras del *Price Club,* y no nos... no nos daban *ride* para ir al *Price Club* porque se le gastaba el millage del carro. Entonces son... son... cosas así que... que nada más no entendía uno en ese tiempo.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Cuando ibamos a la iglesia, de hecho, ellos pasaban por en frente de nosotros cuando nosotros estabamos parados en la parada del camión el cinco. Y ellos en su carro, o sus los carros. Pero decían que se preocupaban mucho por el millage de su carro todo el tiempo, no querían gastar doble, ¿verdad? Entonces era una situación muy difícil, más que nada el... el paso de licenceo porque él era (inaudible), y tener que acceptar... estoy en una posición de inferioridad, no tengo opción. O sea, no me puedo defender. No tengo los recursos legales para defenderme, no tengo el conocimento de este país para defenderme. Si mi familia me hace eso, no sé qué me haría el de enseguida, o sea no me quiero ir de... de... bajo la protección esta.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ¿Verdad? Me... quedamos de que nos inmigraría mi tía, porque era residente, no era ciudadana, pero, pues, ella no le echa mucho al estudio, y falló el examen varias veces. Y... y pues, cada vez nosotros teníamos que pagar lo del examen.

R: El examen de ciudadanía…

00:11:35

I: El examen de ciudadanía. Mis papás le pagaban el proceso y todo para que... porque decía, pues, si me hago ciudadana va a ser por ti. Entonces, mi padre

**Comment:** Más allá de esta historia, es evidente que Justo siente una gran admiración por su padre. Sin duda el ejemplo paterno orientó a Justo por buenos senderos…

**Comment:** He states very eloquently the plight of the immigrant, where they are abused and exploited and feel like they can´t do anything about it.

pagaba el proceso para que... pero ella no le echaba ganas al estudio yo creo, o no sé qué pasaba, pero... reprobó el examen varias veces. Entonces fue inversión de mis papás varias veces e... fue difícil la situación, y como te digo, (inaudible)... no era tanto, porque mi mamá vino de recursos bajos. Y mi papá, no... eh... pero mi papá nunca fue... ¿cómo te puedo decir? ... Él creció en un hogar en que le pusieron poca atención, entonces él nunca creció como... amando las cosas materiales.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Para él era lo mismo tener un carro del año como no traerlo. Y le gustaba tener carro al año, pero si tenía que traer otro... no había diferencia para él. Entonces cuando... nosotros queríamos cosas, y mi papá no más porque es su personalidad, no nunca se mete en mucho mi apá, pero decía: ¿quieres pagar o lavar? Era la manera que decía que no. Entonces mi mamá decía "si lo quieres, lo tienes que ganar". Tienes que ganarte buenas calificaciones, si no, no te doy el juguete. Entonces mi apá siempre estuvo de acuerdo con mi mamá, y nos disciplinaba, (inaudible) ¿Quieres apá? Pues sí. ¿No quieres? Bueno, pues no si no quieres. Entonces me apá es una persona así de muy buen corazón y mi mamá era la de la disciplina. Y que siempre nos enseñaba apreciar las cosas.

**Comment:** El apoyo y la estructura familiar que recibió de sus padres seguramente constituyeron una influencia importante en la formación de Justo y en su determinación por alcanzar metas.

R: Entonces, esa... contestando la pregunta, esa es una de tus experiencias formativas, ¿no?

I: Sí. Sí. Definitivamente. La... la educación de mi mamá, y también a mi papá, su abuelo... mi abuelo, eh... que era dueño de los campos en México, eh, no había puesto a mi papá de... de... gerente... o de director hasta que mi papá tenía más... ya casado. Lo hizo trabajar desde... desde peón. Para que entendiera bien el sistema del campo. Fue la filosofía de mi abuelo, y más bien lo que hizo para mi papá fue... darle humildad de poder trabajar con todos. Sin ningún privilegio... a veces mi papá ni llegaba de trabajar porque estaba comiéndose... hacía a mi papá los trabajadores le tenían tanta confianza de que le ofrecían un burro de huevo frío desde la mañana. Entonces por mi papá por no decirles que no, se quedaba allí a comer con ellos. Y así llegamos por él y no lo destinguias entre lo demás porque así es simplemente. Y sigue hasta el día de hoy. Entonces, crecimos mucho con humildad. Entonces la transición no fue tanto de que no tenemos como que teníamos, o ver a mi papá de jefe de... miles de personas a ser el empleado más bajo de un lugar. No era tanto eso, porque sabíamos que para eso veníamos. Pero... pero era el abuso y el impotencia acerca de eso.

**Comment:** Right... and it seems amazing that their own family would treat them this way!

00:13:59

R: De no poder actuar

I: De no poder actuar en...

R: *Yeah.*

I: Eso era lo peor.

R: Tenía entonces negocios de lavado de carros tu papá...

I: Mi papá tenía... tuvo varios negocios. Lo que le pasó al él es que... venía de una familia italiana muy conocida en la ciudad en que vivíamos y... y cuando... esto ocurrió dos veces antes de que le ocurrió a mi papá... cuando el... vino uno que era mi bisabuelo, y él tuvo varios hijos, y esos hijos eran... hicieron mucho

dinero también. Era una de esas familias muy grandes. Uno de ellos murió en un accidente repentino. Entonces mi abuelo que hizo la administración de los negocios de la parte de la herencia de esa parte de la familia, los hijos de... no me acuerdo ni cómo se llamaba ese señor... pero los hijos de él, mi abuelo se administró su parte del negocio hasta que ellos se graduaron de la universidad...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...entonces les devolvió todo a ellos mientras y ellos tuvieron entonces su propio negocio. Pasó con otro hermano igual. Murió antes de lo esperado. Mi abuelo como era mayor, administró los negocios que eran de su hermano hasta que sus sobrinos alcanzaron la edad adecuada. Se los dio devuelta. Cuando él murió, no sucedió así. Sino que los otros hermanos... eh... robaron el dinero. Desaparecieron el testamento, y pues, todo lo que mi papá tenía, el nombre del negocio, el nombre de Justo Carbona, que era el nombre también de mi abuelo, yo soy Justo Carbona el tercero, es lo que dice mi... mi acta de nacimiento... y... y pues, toda la herencia... fue robada. Toda la herencia de mi abuelo. Y mis otros tíos habían hechos carreras diferentes. De finanzas y de... otro fue banquero, y de diferentes cosas así. Pero mi papá era... ya que era el mayor, de igual manera él estaba heredando los campos, entonces su carrera fue la agricultura, y

00:15:34

su vida entera estaba dedicada a los campos. Al que le afectó directamente fue a él. Los demás, pues se quedaron sin herencia que estaban esperando. Pero mi papá no nada más se quedó sin herencia, se quedó sin empleo… y sin todos los carros y casas que tenía la familia. Eso pasó cuando yo tenía alrededor de cinco años. Y... pues, pero mi papá tenía cuentas en otras partes, pudimos sobrevivir. Compró otros negocios, como compró taquerías, lavado de carros... empezó a explorar diferentes negocios. Pero... mm... en noventa y tres, noventa y cuatro la economía de México estaba... se empezó a empeorar, la devaluación, todo empezó a pasar, y... fue cuando ya... poco a poco fuimos perdiendo más y más los negocios. Pero luego también, después... cosas, la gente, tienía mala suerte, pero en el lavado, cuando a mi papá le estaba yendo muy bien, empezaron a construir la calle de enfrente. La cerraron como por nueve meses. Entonces, paró el negocio este. Tuvo que cerrarlo. Em... le robaron un carro, un Corvette. Y lo chocaron, y tuvo que pagar el Corvette de... de.. su empleo. Entonces, cositas así que le salían de peor en peor... empezó trabajar vendiendo seguros. Ya no teníamos carro para ese entonces, o sea, que salía y venía en camión y... andar en camión en México es muy diferente que andar en camión aquí.

**Comment:** In the US, businesses are protected from this loss of income. But it´s a different story in Mexico...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: No es lo mismo. Y... Y pues, las amistades que tenía mi papá en ese tiempo le voltearon la espalda. Simplemente ya no era igual. Mis papás fueron en un tiempo los presidentes del club rotario de la ciudad, y sus amistades no respondieron a ayudarles. Eh.. por ejemplo... a mí me tocó ir a una entrevista con él en que... dijo su nombre. Y le dijeron, te estás burlando de mí si crees que te voy a contratar con ese apellido. Entonces, algo has de querer de aquí. En muchos casos... le afectaba su apellido por su... por su *background,* el dinero, creían que les estaba... estaba jugando, que... era un rico que estaba haciendo

**Comment:** This is a very eye-opening description of the classism of Mexico. Justo's father lost his friends because he no longer had money. Then he couldn´t find work because people wouldn´t hire him because of his family name.

una escapada de... frustración con su familia, o no sé qué creían... (inaudible) mi papá fue quien me dijo cómo le pasó eso. Y... teniendo que pedir... fiado de la tiendita de la esquina. O sea, muchas cosas que empezaban a empeorarse. Llegó al punto de que la casa nos la iban a quitar. Y... y en septiembre dos del... noventa y cuatro venimos para... para acá. A Estados Unidos.

00:17:39

Y... dejamos todo atrás. El día siguiente del que nos vinimos cerraron la casa. O sea, justo a tiempo (inaudible) nos vinimos, y el banco tomó la casa, y... y aquí estamos. Y pues, la única oportunidad que mi papá tenía de empleo era esa con... con... con el esposo de mi tía, y... así sucedieron las cosas. Y.. y... fuimos...

**Comment:** Al parecer, Justo preserva gran parte de la memoria y de la historia oral de su familia para generaciones futuras.

R: Me estás contestando de hecho la segunda pregunta, que es... es... e... ¿Cómo te convertiste en inmigrante en... en este país? Em... ¿alguna otra experiencia que haya sido muy impactante para tí que te haya transformado? Obviamente eso tuvo muy... este... mucho impacto, ¿no? en tu formación más adelante. Em... ¿cómo te convertiste en estudiante? Por ejemplo, en el colegio comunitario.

I: ¿En el colegio? Fue porque... yo no... no pensé que iba a tener nada. Era... le eché muchas ganas a los deportes en la *high school*. Siempre... no sé porque me gustaba el fútbol americano, hasta cuando estaba en México me encantaba el fútbol americano, y cuando llegué aquí fue mi sueño hecho realidad. Y así fue como no me dolió tanto la transición para acá. Me dijo mi papá y mi amá: "vas a tener la oportunidad de jugar fútbol americano todos los días." Era lo máximo para mí. (laughs) Entonces empecé jugar cuando estaba en el noveno grado, y... basquetbol y atlet... e... *track and field*. Y... me fue muy bien, gracias a Dios. Me fue muy bien. Me empezaron a ofrecer becas cuando estaba en... el año (inaudible), me empezaron a ofrecer becas para Washington State, de hecho, en Seattle. ¡Fútbol en Washington State!

R: ¿Y ya tenías... ya tenías documentos en ese momento?

I: No.

R: Todavía no tenías documentos.

I: No tenía. Entonces no había oportunidad. No había... no sabía ni cómo lo iba a hacer. Pero... pero.. siempre mi esfuerzo estaba puesto en el deporte. En que esa va a ser la avenida por lo que podemos hacerla.

R: Entonces estabas pasando por lo que muchos muchachos están pasando ahora que son hijos de inmigrantes, menores de edad, pero sin tener los documentos, están demonstrando que pues, tienen cualidades, que tienen muchas... eh... muchos talentos, ¿no? Pero luego terminan la preparatoria, muchos de esos muchachos, y se dan cuenta que no pueden seguir.

00:20:02

I: Sí.

R: Eh... en el colegio, porque no tienen sus documentos.

I: Y otro punto de eso es de que... tú sientes que tienes que esforzarte más de los de de enseguida porque para los enseguida es un deporte que hacen actividades extra. Para mi era... era mi futuro. Para mí no... me entrenaba todo el año porque para mi no era un deporte, sino era mi futuro. Y... y... me lastimé el hombro. Me caí un día... antes de empezar la... mi última temporada cuando

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

estaba con los *scouts*, y... y... este... en ese campamento me disloqué el hombro, y quedé afuera e... ocho semanas, que me quitó seis juegos. Y.. y... luego que yo era un corredor, y casi no me tocó la pelota. No... cuando regresé ya había otro en mi puesto. Y... y me pusieron en defense nada más. O sea, que... (inaudible) no estaban interesadas (inaudible) con un hombro lastimado, tan joven... y... para mi fue un *shock*. Porque dije yo, ¿ahora qué voy a hacer? Entonces no, para muchos, ah, te lastimaste, pura defensa, y es tu última temporada y a ver qué pasa. Para mi era como un futuro destruido. Para mi era... todo lo que trabajé por tres años ya no va a servir. Ahora... ahora, ¿qué voy a hacer? Y... y de hecho, no supe que iba a hacer todavía. No... no... no tenía ni idea de qué iba a hacer. Y... para contestar tu pregunta, ¿cómo fui?... estaba en... en doceavo grado ya, y... se terminó la temporada, y pues, obviamente no... no recibí ninguna oferta de... de la universidad ni nada por el estilo, entonces ya fui a... empecé a involucrarme en un club que le pusieron, las voces de la juventud hispana. Y en... en... River. En la *high school* River. Y... y nos empezó a ir bien, y luego, hicieron una conferencia en que se escogieron nueve estudiantes del estado para hacer una conferencia... no (inaudible), no sé porque me escogieron a mí, yo no había estado involucrado en nada, y... gracias a Dios me ecogieron entre esos nueve...

R: Las Voces de la Juventud Hispana se llamaba el club...

I: (speaking over) (affirmative noises) ...se llamaba...

R: ¿Cuál era el objectivo de...?

00:21:57

I: El objectivo era... era... fíjate. Todos estabamos allí. No teníamos papeles ninguno. El objectivo era informar los estudiantes hispanos como había oportunidades de estudiar aun... o sea, que no... se graduaran y se fueran a trabajar.

R: Qué fabuloso. Bueno y... me dices que... ¿todos los que estaban allí eran estudiantes...?

I: Todos.

R: **...que no tenían documentos.**

**I: Los líderes. Éramos seis líderes, la mesa directiva, éramos seis los que fundamos el club, y… ninguno tenía documentos.**

**R: Ni uno tenía documentos.**

**I: No, ninguno.** Ni la mayoría de los que... de los que estaban, eran miembros, no tenían documentos porque el club era español... era en español, y... y les enseña... no más... les abríamos los ojos a diferentes oportunidades. Está el colegio comunitario, si quieres… la universidad, ahí está....

R: Pero no más estaban... ustedes eran... en cierta forma muchachos que estaban en desventaja...

I: Sí.

R: ...por... porque no tenían documentos. Pero además les estaban abriendo los ojos a aquellos que sí tenían la oportunidad...

I: (speaking over) Sí... sí...

R: ...porque sí tenían documentos.

**Comment:** Evidentemente Justo se destacaba aun sin proponérselo. Pero evidentemente se mantenía interesado en múltiples actividades, incluyendo los Scouts y otros grupos que le ayudaron a integrarse mejor a su nuevo país.

**Comment:** So this was an organization of undocumented students. It is difficult to organize undocumented people (it is difficult to organize documented people! Much less people who are afraid because of their legal status), but certainly a school environment is a great place to do it.

**Comment:** Incredible... so these students are encouraging one another to continue on into higher education! So this would be a network of support for Justo... although perhaps the others also had support from other students, this is the only case where it has taken such a formal, organizational status. What is telling is that he was one of the founding members... which speaks to not only his own advocacy and agency, but his willingness and desire to be an advocate to others. Justo seems to have a drive to succeed no matter where he is. Football seemed like his ticket, but he certainly found he had plenty of tickets when football proved disappointing... his own internal drive to succeed is very strong. It is interesting how he tells this story like these things just happened to him... whereas he must have been taking actions that led him to be selected for the conference, and led to the foundation of this club.

**Comment:** Right... he is creating a positive affect in the community regardless of status... there is a certain irony here, that there are those who would have kicked him out of the country... yet he is working to improve the education of its people.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: Exacto. Fíjate. Y lo... y el... y en lo que más nos enfocabamos, lo que yo como veía, del grupo, de más me quería enfocar, era... de cambiar la mentalidad. Eso era el enfoque. O sea, porque había muchos... muchos... y también era enfocado a los que sabes que tú tienes la oportunidad, tú héchale ganas, y los que sí no tiene ese oportunidad, nuestra actitud nunca fue... y pues, ni modo, para tí no va eso. No, sino que... no teníamos las respuestas de todo. Eramos... éramos muchachitos de dieciseis, diecisiete años, pero lo que... lo que yo decía... no les decía yo a ellos que ustedes tienen esa posición, pero les decía, ¿sabes qué? Eso es lo de menos. Tú... pónte tu meta en algo. Tú, ¿qué quieres hacer? Y va a haber la manera de perseguirlo. Pero es como Beethoven, él... nunca paraba en todo en escribir su... su última a mediodía, cuando estaba sordo, ¿me entiendes? O sea, no... **no hay límite**. Si tú quieres algo verdaderamente, tú puedes lograrlo en este país. Es el país de la oportunidad. Vamos a tener desventajas, sí. Las hemos tenido, sí. Vamos a seguirlas teniendo. Toda la vida vamos a tenerlas, les decía.

00:23:54

Sin embargo, tú lucha por lo que tú quieres. Tú quieres inmigrar, pues... encuéntra la manera de hacerlo por medios legales, y vas a ver que te da una satisfacción enorme. Y aquellos que sí tienen la oportunidad, no, se aprovechan la oportuni... entonces, era más bien un... un... más de tres son solicitudes, y mira, aquí está la solicitud para el colegio comunitario, aquí está la solicitud para la universidad, porque no tuvimos este conocimiento y tú tampoco. Era más bien simplemente cambiar la mentalidad de los hispanos de... de esa.. porque era... voces de la juventud hispana... *voices of hispanic youth.* Lo decíamos en inglés y en español también. Entonces. Entonces, una maestra, la Señora Gutiérrez, nos ayudó mucho allí. Y… teníamos también un... un... subdirector, que era Guzmán, que era de España. Muy, muy duro el señor, pero por alguna razón, gracias a Dios, se portó muy flexible con nosotros para... para eso. Señor de Texas, eh... de generaciones de hispanos en Texas, y... tú sabes, a veces no... no tienen buena fama aquí, pero... (laughing, inaudible). Es que no se identifican tanto con los mexicanos o con la raza recién llegada. ¿Me entiendes?

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y él es de dinero de Texas, entonces... Así era cómo se sucedió eso, entonces por involucrarme allí no... no estoy seguro como iba pasando yo por.... por la oficina. Y estaba un señor allí, Vicente Suárez, que fue a... hablar con estudiantes. Y dijo, Eh, "¿quieres... quieres tú ir a...?

R: ¿Esto es en la *high school?*

I: Él estuvo en la *high school.* Eso, todavía estamos hablando del primer semestre... de mi último año de *high school.* Em... entonces, yo lo veía a él, pero yo sabiendo que estaba *ilegal*... Ni siquiera me acercaba yo a él. Y... y luego una vez me platiqué con él, y pues, tú sabes cuando... cuando tú no tienes papeles, hasta los guardias de seguridad en el *mall* te ponen nervioso. O sea, piensas que todo... todos están viendo. No quieres argumentar cosas, no quieres llamar atención... más atención hacia tí de lo que es necesario llamar. Porque... porque te sientes vulnerable a todo. No sabes qué puede hallarte.. Y yo he escuchado historias de... de vecinos de que... los para una policia por una multa,

**Comment:** So he sees changing the mentality and/or attitude of the people as a way to generate more success in the community. Not of the outside oppressive community, but of the oppressed.

**Comment:** This is the "American Dream" loud and clear. It seems to be working for him. It is the same myth that Jesenia and Marina are both struggling with, since their realities seem to be showing them the American Dream may not work for them. David and Roberto have also run into truncated versions of this dream. Jesenia seems to be the closest to giving up on the dream, while the other three who remain undocumented still hang tenaciously to the idea that their realities will change some day.

**Comment:** Aquí Justo parece estar siendo algo idealista y, quizá, justificando la exigencia (casi siempre imposible) de que los inmigrantes obtengan su residencia en USA de forma "legal". La mayoría de los inmigrantes económicos no tiene recursos, conocimientos, o posibilidades para regularizar su situación, como en el caso de Justo y su familia.

**Comment:** This man has appeared in at least three of the six naaratives. Amazing.

**Comment:** This speaks volumes about the persistence of Vicente Suarez.

**Comment:** A quotation about the constant fear the immigrants live with.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

y esa halló a una... les pidieron papeles, no los tuvieron, el carro tenía placas equivocadas, como

00:26:08

muchos (inaudible) tienen, y... ciertas cosas estuvieran sospechosas, terminaron siendo... siendo... deportados. Entonces, no quieres nunca llamar la atención más de lo necesario, entonces yo trataba de siempre sacar la vuelta inclusive a ningún viaje a... de fútbol americano, a Douglas o Nogales, (inaudible) mi papá no me dejaba ir. Entonces siempre tenía que inventarme algo. Siempre... como que me dolió el estómago... o... para ser sincero, matar a un familiar en México. Si hace memorial en México, tengo que irme para allá, no puedo ir a este juego. Tenía que ser algo extremo, porque... porque siendo un jugador que... que jugaba cada minuto del juego, es decirle... al decirle al entrenedor, "no voy a ir al juego," no... no era como... no digo por persunción, pero, pero era uno de los jugadores claves del equipo, y nada más decir "no voy a ir" no era cualquier cosa donde me decían, "oh, okay..." Me tenía que... cada vez me tenía que inventar una mentira más fuerte para no ir a Nogales porque... pues mi papá no me dejaba ir a Nogales a jugar.

**Comment:** Este es precisamente el tipo de situaciones que termina por vencer a los estudiantes indocumentados, quienes terminan por abandoner la escuela. Algunos como Justo perseveran, pero no todos los estudiantes pueden llevar una vida en las sombras y cumplir con las exigencias académicas a la vez.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Am, entonces eso lo hice dos años, porque... te hartas, una vez vas, otra vez vienes. Entonces cuando (inaudible) no puedo ir, y cuando (inaudible) tampoco pude ir. Entonces, así entonces tomas toda la precaución posible. Toda precaución posible, y... y pues, no quería hablar con Vicente porque yo no lo conocía y no sabía quién era él. Todo este tiempo... fue un proceso de... de que estábamos escribiendo cartas a inmigración y... nos inmigramos por medio de la iglesia. De la iglesia nos inmigramos, entonces para diciembre del noventa y nueve, fue cuando recibí la... mica... el permiso de trabajo.

**Comment:** Es decir que, aun cuando existen apoyos para los estudiantes indocumentados, éstos no necesariamente lo aprovechan por miedo a ser descubiertos...

R: ¿Cómo fue que la iglesia los pudo ayudar en este...?

I: (speaking over) La iglesia, hay una... una *clause* que se llama... no sé si es... en español es "obrero religioso"... en inglés *a religious worker*. Entonces, lo que hace la iglesia, demuestra que eres un miembro clave de la iglesia, y que no... lo que dicen es que te necesitan a tí para funcionar. Que necesitan de tí para... para... para hacer ese centro, que has... con... quienes has colaborado por años, que has estado allí fielmente, que no tienes un record criminal, que has pagado impuestos, que... son muchas cosas las que requieren...

00:28:13

entonces, esa cláusula se abrió por dos meses solamente. Entonces, este abogado nos contactó... er... un abogado... él es un experto en áreas muy prestigiadas de Phoenix. Y... por lo tanto es muy caro. Y entonces, eh... por haber tenido dinero ahorrado, y aparte... otro tío... de mi papá, su hermano... eh, chico después de él, le prestó un dinero, y fuimos a pagar el abogado. Fue carísimo. Y más que nada porque... sabes como... lo tramitas de México y es más barato, o tramitas de aquí pagando multas y es un poco más caro, pero es más rápido. Entonces... no... no queríamos salirnos ya. Y... les pagamos y... y, todo, pues eso fue extremadamente rápido. Muy rápido. Fue para... para... diciembre de noventa y nueve, de eso se pudo hacer eso... tuvimos que comprobar que... cómo mi papá tenía sus ingresos. Y, pues, obviamente no...

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

no... no era pidiendo limosna, entonces tenías que comprobar que hacía lo que se le llama *side jobs*, o sea, que lavaba carros en casas de personas, y es lo que mi papá hacía. Arreglaba carros de amigos... y cuando se descomponían de personas de la iglesia, hacía trabajitos aquí de... jardinería, lo que sea, y así ganaba su dinero. Entonces tenía que comprobar que él pagaba impuestos sobre ello, entonces lo pudimos comprobar. Entonces... por... por haber usado otro seguro, y por medio de diferentes maneras. Tuvimos que... eh... ¿cómo se dice?... ser completamente honestos con... con el abogado y con lo que estaba pasando. Y él... no sé yo cómo... *how did he frame it*... para poder... para poder, de este... hacer un caso de ello. Pero todo el proceso pasó muy rápido. Eh.. y... y nos llegó el permiso de trabajo en... en diciembre. Em, también es porque tuviste que pagar... tuvimos que pagar... y ya era recibir... la tarjeta de residencia llegó después. Y entonces, ya para esa entonces, Vicente regresó en... en enero de... del dos mil, del año dos mil. A hablar con los estudiantes que se iban a graduar. Y... y platicamos y sí me interesaba ir, luego yo le dije, pues yo no sé, yo creo... o sea, (inaudible) no sabía la diferencia entre el colegio comunitario y la universidad. No sabía la diferencia. No sabía... colegio y universidad, yo no sabía cuál era la diferencia, no sabía qué era una carrera, o sea la

00:30:27

diferencia entre un... *bachelors, masters,* y... *Ph.D.* No sabía la diferencia entre ellos. O un *associates,* yo no sabía que era una cosa tan específico... no sabía nada. Y... pues, Vicente platicando conmigo entendí un poco más, pero aún no sabía yo qué era. Y... y la... la... la noche de, *awards ceremony* para los *seniors,* me nombraron el.. el *business student of the year.* Entonces saqué este premio, y... y... me avisaron de esa cosa para que fuera a la ceremonia. Entonces pues, fui a la ceremonia, y... y en...

R: *This is... this is in your high school.*

I: *High school. Yeah. High school senior year.* Entonces, sabía que iba a haber premio, entonces, pero te dan... te dan este... cuando llegas, depende en los premios que te has sacado, te dan boletitos...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...para cuando subas, les das el boletito con tu nombre y ellos... ponen tu nombre. Entonces yo... yo esperando uno y me dieron dos. Entonces luego dije yo, ¿dos? entonces pide el programa, y estaba premiado también bajo los... las becas del colegio. Me habían pagado por un semestre... de colegio. Y entonces, pues mis papás llorando, y tú sabes, una emoción porque me habían becado para ir al colegio comunitario por un semestre. Pues allí conocieron mis papás a Vicente...

R: *Business student of the year?*

I: (affirmative noises) *Business student of the year.*

R: Por... *why?* ¿Por qué?

I: Eh, tomé una... una clase, pues, con *Miss Gutiérrez*... más que nada, estuve en clases. Eran tres, los que decidían, tres maestros. Eran *Miss Gutiérrez,* y los otros más, no me acuerdo de sus nombres, pero uno de ellos, tomé *Business Technology* con él. Y... y yo era, yo era callado hasta cierto punto en... era líder en el equipo de futból americano porque era capitan del equipo, pero... pero en

**Comment:** Esta es la economía subterránea de la cual todos nos beneficiamos en los estados con numerosas poblaciones de indocumentados, como es el caso de Arizona.

**Comment:** It is so curious how he tells this story... as if he has done nothing, and these things just happened to him. But again, this probably has to do with the excellent education he received in Mexico before his family fell into hard times. He did not have to struggle much with the language, and he does not mention at all any academic struggles. It seems to have come naturally and easily for him. Also, his family had some resources, despite the struggle of the nuclear family and the alienation between extended family members, that they could draw upon to pay for the lawyer. The rest of the interviewees have not had that opportunity.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

la escuela, era callado. Me... me avergonzaba de... de mi acento más que nada. Entonces era... era callado, pero... pero este maestro me dijo, "Noto algo en ti," me dijo. "Noto... noto algo... algo que no has explotado en ti." Yo siempre que hacía un grupo... en equipo en su... su... su... su... manera de hacer las cosas ponía a un estudiante A con un estudiante promedio, C o B, y uno de F, de los malos. Entonces los ponía siempre juntos para qu... con el junto, yo creo que el de F y C se inspiraban en los de A. Entonces siempre que decía, "*Okay, the A students are...*" y siempre me ponía a mí. Y

00:32:40

siempre me ponía a mí. Y a veces no tenía la A, pero me decía, "Yo sé que tú puedes. Yo sé que..." Entonces él me empujaba. Me empujaba y empujaba y empujaba. Y era... una persona... Siempre era muy bien vestido. Era... era líder en su iglesia bautista, era... era un... alguien que no esperaras tú que... que tomara tanto aprecia a un estudiante inmigrante Mexicano.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y... me tomó mucho aprecio... siempre me dijo que yo podía, que yo podía, y ten... tuve mis días difíciles, como típico muchacho de *high school,* frustrado y rebelde a veces, que no quería, y... y él me decía... yo, yo sé que tú puedes, y *and this is just a front your putting*, me decía. Me decía, haz el trabajo. Y él me dejaba, y me hacía escribir y me apagaba la luz para que no viera las teclas, y ahora que (inaduble) bien, o sea, me empujó. Y luego, la otra maestra... era maestra que tuve, que era de... me enseñaba usar... eh... *Print Shop* y *Powerpoint* y diferentes cosas así, y... y (inaudible) pero ella me decía igual, me decía... me decía "No estás haciendo ni siquiera los dos por ciento de lo que puedes hacer." Y... y a veces la presión no me gustaba a mí.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Me... me... me... sentía nervioso. Me decían en el equipo de futból americano me... me decían los... los que eran *sophomores* me decían, "Oye, Juan... la, la gente no está viendo certezas en la tarde. Diles... diles que hay certeza." Ellos me decían a mí, me reconocieron como el líder, pero yo prefería no hacerlo. Yo prefería no... no tomar responsabilidad y no tomar presión. No me gustaba a mi eso. No me gustaba estar en frente del grupo. Lo de ser capitan, a mí me incluyeron por ser el que trabajaba más duro por eso era el capitán, yo creo, porque trabajaba más duro, no porque... era el que más gritaba o el que... más... más... de este... líder era... o...

R: O sea, demostrabas el liderazgo con tu trabajo.

00:34:22

I: Con trabajo. Y no era... no intentaba hacer eso. Yo prefería... porque después de práctica, me quedaba a correr más. Eh... nunca me perdí una práctica. No era el mejor del equipo, pero... pero sí trabajaba muy duro. Entonces, por eso me hicieron capitán, no precisamente porque era el más talentoso o el que...

R: Pero sin embargo ahora me estás diciende que no hay límite.

I: **No, no hay límite.** Y es... entonces... entonces, la... la, algo que... te voy a decir algo que me dijo un entrenador una vez. Que... que eso cambió mi... mi... vida cambió. Cuando yo era... cuando yo regresé, y no... me dieron la posición de vuelta, y caí en un trance de depresión que dejé el equipo por dos días. Y el

**Comment:** Here is perhaps a subtle taste of the institutionalized racism... would he have been embarrassed of a French accent? Why is a Mexican accent something shameful?

**Comment:** So here is another resource... yet again a teacher that encourages the student by focusing on the student´s strengths. This is also a common thread in the experiences of all these interviewees.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

entrenedor fue y me buscó en clase y me sacó de la clase y me dijo, "No vas a dejar el equipo. Vas a seguir. No trabajaste tres años y medio para nada más salirte." Y me... y me... forzó con palabras a ir a la práctica. Y... aún me regresó, y me dijo, "Pero te voy a decir que (inaudible) salir por dos días. (inaudible) correr de todas tus posiciones, ni siquiera en defensa ni en lo que se llama *special teams* te vas a estar," me dijo. "Te vas a ganar tus posiciones de vuelta," me dijo. Entonces... en eso metí, y me acuerdo que... que empecé a jugar con coraje. Y empecé a ser mejor de lo que era antes. Entonces me acuerdo muy bien de una posición. Que estaba yo sí para la jugada. Llamaron la jugada, era una jugada nueva... no me acordaba de la jugada yo. Dijo el... el *quarterback* dijo "*Hike,*" entonces sin saber qué onda, trot... troté para la izquierda... y entonces el entrenedor paró la jugada inmediatamente, me agarró allí el casco, me... me empezó arrastrar y me dijo... y me empezó a gritar. Me dijo, "¿Sabes por qué me estoy gritando?" me dijo. Y le dije yo, me dijo, "*You know why I'm yelling at you?*" Le dije yo, "*Because I went the wrong way.*" Y luego me dijo, "*No,*" me dijo, "*Because you did it half speed,*" me dijo. "*In my team,*" me dijo, "*you do everything full speed. If you go the wrong way, I don't gift a sh...* (sic)" me dijo, "*you go full speed. If you go the right way, you go full speed. I would rather you go the wrong way full speed, than go the right way half speed. You never do things half speed in my team. Do everything full speed. I don't care if you know the play, or if you don't know the play,*" me dijo, "*Things are always done full speed in my team. Now get back in there and do it again.*" me dijo. "*And go the wrong way full speed,*" me dijo. "*I want you to learn how to make mistakes and be comfortable making mistakes.*" Me regresó, hice la jugada, como me fui para el lado contrario, me dieron una tlaqueada como nunca me habían dado antes por el *blind side,*

00:35:43

me pegaron... todos sabían donde irse, yo había ido por el lado equivocado.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y me levantó y me dijo, "*You got it?*" Y le dije, "*Yes, sir.*" Me levanté. Nunca se me ha olvidado. Entonces dije yo, si... si... yo pensaba... *if I'm not going the right way with this college thing, at least I'm gonna'go at it full speed.* O sea, por lo menos lo voy a hacer todo como los mejores estudiantes. No es nada más una analogía de futból americano, porque muchos (inaudible)... fútbol *soccer*, (inadible) que me entendieron, pero les decía, jugar las cosas a todo lo que te da. No hay límited para ti. Tú dale todo lo que te da. Y.. y... y esto que me dijo, era excelente con... con la disciplina que yo había aprendido de mis padres. Porque hay tres factores que han afectado mi educación y mi personalidad hoy. La primera, pues, que fue donde crecí, que son mis padres.

**Comment:** La habilidad de Justo para extrapolar este tipo de experiencias de una dimensión de su vida a otra en forma positiva parece ser una característica que comparte con los otros entrevistados. Unos la poseen en mayor o menor proporción, pero hay indicios de esto en todas sus historias.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: La... la segunda ha sido la doctrina de mi iglesia. Eh... seguir los principios bíblicos que he aprendido siempre de que el individuo que trabaja fuerte, recibe recompenza como individuo. No... no se trata de... de intervención divina. Todo el tiempo tú tienes que trabajar. Dios hace su parte como tú haces tu parte. No es... no siempre todo es si Dios quiere. Yo he aprendido que... Dios bendice al que trabaja duro. Y si tú no estás trabajando duro, entonces no puedes esperar

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

que haga otra parte. Yo siempre (inaudible) decir, tanto como tú quieres, tú le entras.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y la otra parte fue futból americano. Esas tres cosas son las cosas que más han tranformado y... y... y formado mi vida. Esas tres: familia, de... es de... Dios, y el deporte. Entonces... entonces yo, después de mi última temporada, el haber fallado de esa manera, el ver mis sueños desechos... eh... de seguir adelante, perder todas mis posiciones, y el... el no haber ganado ningún premio de allá de los más (inaudible) mi último año, me afectó bastante, pero esa última... fue la penúltima semana, la que el entrenador me agarró y me (inaudible), eh... de este... me... me hizo reaccionar de esa manera... que (inaudible) a sus estudiantes, entonces... Vicente me ofreció la beca…

00:38:47

Obviamente la accepté, y me ofreció *Summer Bridge* también...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Perdón. Lo tomé, y... pues, empecé mi... mi... carrera sin saber que iba a estudiar...

R: *Tell me about Summer Bridge.*

I: *Summer Bridge. Summer Bridge is, eh...* me sirvió mucho. Tomamos dos clases. Una clase era de cuatro créditos. Te digo "tomamos" porque... un grupo de amigos hicimos esto. De este... en ese tiempo quien era mi... mi... una novia que tenía. De este... y su amiga, y otros amigos, y... un grupo que fuimos, y.... que si...

R: ¿Todos juntos entonces decidieron que esto era algo que...

I: Sí.

R: ...bueno para empezar...

I: Sí, para empezar.

R: ...el colegio, entonces?

I: Y yo era el único que tenía residencia. Los además no tenían papeles. No... no estoy seguro cómo lo habrán hecho. De este... nunca pregunté porque no me gusta incomodar a las personas. Y yo sabía no más de su posición y no preguntaba.

R: Claro. ¿Cuántos... cuántos de ellos eran que no tenían documentos?

I: Eh, pues eran todos. Que éramos, eh... que ao... no... miento... otra persona y yo. Y éramos del grupo, éramos siete. Siete.

R: ¿Y los otros seis no tenían sus documentos?

I: Los otros cinco. Dos sí teníamos. Me equivoqué. Dos sí teníamos, él era residente, y yo. Y... otros cinco no.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Entonces, pues, como sabía que era residente, yo nunca nos... nunca les pregunté a los demás porque...

R: Claro.

I: ...porque no decían nada. Porque... o sea, cómo lo habían hecho, ¿no? más que nada, sabíamos que... Vicente los había ayudado. Es todo. Para... para muchos Vicente fue una gran bendición. Y... sigue siendo hasta ahorita. Entonces... pues, así, así empezó. Y una clase era más bien como, eh... *note-taking skills,* y

**Comment:** The thrree things in his life that have had the most impact on his formation.

**Comment:** Aparentemente, y a juzgar por las otras narraciones, este es un programa que verdaderamente ha servido como puente para otros estudiantes minoritarios, con documentos y sin ellos…

**Comment:** Siempre encontrando redes de apoyo.

**Comment:** Esto sólo fue possible en ese tiempo, cuando las leyes en Arizona no eran tan restrictivas para los estudiantes indocumentados.

**Comment:** Es increible lo que una sola persona puede lograr cuando se propone ayudar al prójimo.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*listening skills,* y en colegio cómo lo vas a hacer porque toma mucha nota... era como una clase de transición.

00:40:36

R: Preparándote.

I: Preparándote.

R: Por eso se llamaba *Summer Bridge*.

I: Sí. *Summer Bridge*. Y la otra era de *Reading*. A mí, en este tiempo, me chocaba leer, entonces dije yo... dije yo pues, vale más que la tome de una vez la clase de *reading,* esta, entonces tomé *Reading*, eh, y, con esta maestra Valerie Frost, y era de cuatro semanas, era intenso el curso, (inaudible) eran cuatro unidades en cuatro semanas, es... es bastante intenso... horas estábamos allí. Y... lo que ella hacía, nos dio una... una... un *assessment test* al principio, y un *assessment test* al final para ver cuánto me había mejorado. Aparte de los exámenes no más, y todo eso. Y... y... era... aprendí bastante, o sea, era computadorizada la mayoría, pero pues, echándole ganas, empecé a... a mejorar mi manera de leer más rápida. No me enfocaba en cada palabrita, tú sabes, cuando te dicen, (inaudible) línea, y haciendo (inaudible) ejercicios. Y... y siempre que mejoré... pero siempre notamos un... cierto negativismo de esta maestra, mis amigos y yo, mm... cosas que no eran dichas personalmente, pero decía, "*I hate kids,"* o cosas por el estilo. Hacía comentarios que... te quedas helado, qué mala onda, ¿no? *Who hates kids?* Pero, ella nos decía esos comentarios. Y habíamos, fíjate, muchos... éramos mexicanos, porque conocimos todos los mexicanos de... de... que no eran sus amigos de la *high school,* eran otros mexicanos de México. De dinero.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Ellos tenían dinero. Y había unos... unos de medio oriente, había unos, eh, asiáticos también, era una cosa de bastantes... bastante diversa.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y había... por supuesto los... los... también los estudiantes americanos, los anglosajones más que nada...

R: Sí.

00:42:14

I: Es el mejor término. Entonces, em... pues, nunca noté una.. nada de discriminación directa, pero siempre nos sentimos... cuando hacíamos una pregunta como que ella, molesta, contestaba. Pero, nunca fue demasiado declarado. Sin embargo algo... al... cuando estábamos tomando el exámen, el exámen, el *assessment test* al último, ya para... antes del exámen final para ver como salíamos, como nos había mejorado, de este... estaba sentado en frente de otra muchacha que era, en este tiempo mi novia. Y... y entonces, eh... tomé un lápiz de su lado del escritorio. Tomé un lápiz de su lado del escritorio. Es que estaba escribiendo con el mío, se me rompió la punta, ella tenía lápices, los tenía allí, pues, si algo pasaba, entonces yo agarré el lápiz. Entonces em... cuando fui a entregar mi exámen, me dijo la maestra, "*I'm not gonna' take that."* Me dijo, "*I'm not going to take your exam."* Y era muy muy estricto con respecto a... ella siempre dijo, "*My cheating policy is very strict. If you cheat once, you get an F in the class and you're done.*" Dijo, "*And there's no questions about it."* Y dije,

**Comment:** Esto es indicative de cómo Justo, y seguramente otros estudiantes exitosos, afrontan los retos, abordándolos cuanto antes en vez de esperar hasta que ya no haya otra opción más que enfrentarlos.

**Comment:** Especialmente en la cultura mexicana.

**Comment:** Esto hace aún más compleja la población estudiantil de origen mexicano. Hay un buen número de estudiantes internacionales de México que asisten al colegio comunitario y se suman a los grupos de mexicano-americanos, chicanos, otros hispanos, etc.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*wow*, que estrícto, pero es normal. Nadie va a estar... yo no estaba pensando... no me agüité, porque no estaba pensando en hacer trampa de todas maneras. Y dijo... ella nos dijo varias veces... nos repitió al principio de cada exámen. Y todo entendíamos bien. Nunca nadie tuvo ningún problema con la póliza. Y me dijo, "*I'm not gonna' take that.*" Y le dije yo, "*You're not going to take it?*" Y luego me dijo, "*No,*" me dijo, "*I'm not gonna' take it... your exam.*" Me dijo. Y le dije, "*What do you mean?*" Y luego me dijo ella, me dijo, "*I saw you cheating.*" Y le dije, "*When was I cheating?*" Y me dijo, "*You were cheating with your... with your girlfriend. And, ah... You were giving her the answers.*" Y le dije, "*No, no, no. I wasn't giving her the answers. I just taking a pencil.*" Y (inaudible) le dije... le dije, "*When?*" Ella me dijo, "*When you did this.*" Entonces ya me acordé del lápiz, y dije, "*No, I was taking the pencil from her side.*" Y luego dijo, "*I'm not going to take it. I'm not going to take it,*" me dijo, de este... "*I hate cheaters,*" me dijo. "*I despise them,*" me dijo. Em... me dijo, "*I'm gonna'... ah... and I hate the cheaters who are in my class,*" me dijo. "*And I hate the way you're cheating.*" Me dijo, "*I'm gonna' write a letter to the president of this campus,*" me dijo. Me dijo, "*I will make sure everybody knows what kind of a person you are, and make sure your ass never comes back here again,*" me dijo ella. Y entonces... entonces... yo tenía diecisiete años yo... estaba escamadísimo. Escamadísimo. No te imagines. Estaba temblando... fue (inaudible) toda mi vida, y yo creo que nunca me he tenido ganas de llorar como esa vez, *I mean, I wanted to cry.* Estaba a punto de llorar...

R: (affirmative noises)

00:44:40

I: Y muy asustado porque ella me dijo... me dijo, "*Your academic life is over.*" Me dijo. Me dijo, "*You can't...*" me dijo, "*Once it's on your record, you can't come back here or any college in this state. I'm gonna' make sure that happens.*" Me dijo, "*I'm gonna' make sure your ass never comes back to college again.*" Entonces, pues, regresé, y... y... mi amiga, mi novia de ese tiempo, también ella (inaudible) a dar el examen, no se lo acceptó, y su amiga, su mejor amiga, también fue, y tampoco se lo acceptó. Dijo, "a usted no voy a acceptar el examen." Que la otra no tenía nada que ver, nada que ver (inaudible). Entonces, pues, dije yo, voy a tener que hablar con ella. Y traté de hablar con ella, y... le decía, " *Valerie,*" *you know, "I need to talk to you."* Y mientras ella estaba caminando. Caminando a su cuarto a recoger sus cosas me dijo, "*I don't want to talk to you. I don't want to talk to you.*" Luego le dije, "*We need to talk about my grade,*" le dije, "*I mean, I need to explain this to you.*" Y mis amigas estaban afuera. Ellas no quisieron entrar. Estaban muy nerviosas, y yo también, pero pues alguién tenía que hacer algo. Y me dijo... me dijo ella, me dijo, "*Listen,*" *me dijo, "I don't talk to people your kind,*" me dijo. "*So leave my office now. Leave my classroom now.*" Entonces me salí. Me salí, y yo ya tenía entrevista de trabajo con mantenimiento allí como te decía, allí en el colegio. Pues, no quería ir. Decía yo obviamente ya se terminó, y llegué a la casa llorando. Y mi mamá me dijo, "Levántate. Nunca, nadie... nunca nada te ha... te ha apagado. Nunca nada te ha... te ha caído con que no puedes levantar. Nada te va a hacer que te caes. Tú vete a la entrevista como si nada hubiera pasado.

**Comment:** Justo cambia idiomas fácilmente dependiendo de la emoción que está expresando y de la situación que está describiendo. Sin lugar a dudas no tiene ningún problema para expresarse en inglés, pero no desprecia el español.

**Comment:** This is difficult, because this instructor seems to see the world in black and white. She rushed to judgement here, and now she is not allowing Justo any recourse.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

Tienes que andar... *I mean, she shook me up*. Así es mi mamá. (inaudible) Mi papá a veces tiende a... a deprimirse bajo circunstancias. Pero mi mamá es de las que brinca inmediatamente y toma control. Y en ese momento, ella agarró y me... me hizo entrar en sentido otra vez... "Recuerdo quién eres," me dijo. "Dios está contigo. Tú no... la mentira no va a prevalecer. Tienes que ir. Eso... preocúpate después de tu entrevista. Tú véte, y toma ese trabajo que ya es tuyo." Y, pues sí, llegué tarde a la entrevista,

00:46:40

pero mi jefe me dijo, "¿Qué sabes del mantenimiento?" Y le dije, "Nada."

R: (laughs)

I: Y me dijo (laughs), "Te... te ves medio perdidón. ¿Qué traes?" "No, pues, ando nervioso." Y... y... medio me dijo que... "¿Has trabajado en mantenimiento antes?" "No." Eh, "¿Planeas tú seguir una carrera en esta área?" "No." O sea, dije, ya no me dio el trabajo. Nomás me hizo unas preguntas y me empezó a enseñar aquí vas a hacer esto, o sea, te veo mañana aquí. Empiezas mañana. "Perfecto," le dije. Me regresé, pero pues aún tenía este problema encima. Ahora tenía trabajo en el colegio que... de cuál acabo de ser corrido. Como para... para mí, lo que me habían dicho, ya me habían corrido yo del col... ya estaba corrido del colegio. O sea, no entendía el proceso obviamente, no entendía nada. Yo nomás confiaba en lo que ella había dicho.

R: No entendías que no había conección entre una cosa y la otra.

I: No. No entendía nada. No entendía que ella no tenía la autoridad para... para hacerme eso. Y... y... ni el derecho, más que nada. Había mucho proceso que yo podía explorar. Y, pues, como mi papá se enteró, o sea, se puso mal, y dijo, "¿Qué le pasa a esa señora?" y "Le vamos a demandar por racista, y... y por andar discriminando, y que Dios sabe quién es, y..." mi papá quería ir con su esposo para (inaudible), o sea (laughing) quería... quería hacer lo que sea y, entonces, ¿cómo es posible esto? Entonces tenía yo una cita... la maestra esta, como no (inaudible), tiene una cita cada estudiante al último para explicar su calificación. Y pues, estuvo llamando a gente. Y al último nos llamó a mis dos amigas y a mí. Y fuimos al frente. **Y nos dijo, "*I'm giving you an F for the course because you cheated in the class.*" Y luego a explicar de nuevo, "*We didn't cheat.*" Dijo, "*Well,*" dijo, ah, y luego tenía un policía allí. Trajo un policía. Dijo, dijo, "*After this meeting, you're going to be escorted out of the college by this police officer,*" dijo. "*And here... he's here for my protection,*" dijo, "*and to make sure that you leave the campus and you don't come back,*" dijo. Y llamó a la policía. Pues, tenía la policía allí en el cuarto juntos con nosotros. (inaudible) Como si fuéramos criminales, ¿me entiendes?** Y de este...

00:48:31

entonces, le... le... nos dijo, nos dijo, **"*What I'm gonna' do is I'm going to give you the F,*" dijo, "*and not report the incident.*" Dijo, "*I'm not going to report this incident.*"** Dijo, "*I'm going to give you...*"

R: *What incident?*

I: *Eh, the incident that was happened (sic). Remember, she said, "I'm gonna' write a letter and make sure your ass never comes back here again?" She*

**Comment:** So his mother was a great inspiration in a time when he might have just wallowed in self-pity and not gone to the interview.

**Comment:** Además este es un papel común de las madres en la familia mexicana, que en ocasiones es sostenida por una especie de matriarcado que rige la vida familiar.

**Comment:** Evidentemente la honestidad es una de las características de Justo.

**Comment:** Esta fue una lección temprana que le ayudaría a Justo a manejarse dentro del sistema en el futuro. También es una indicación de la falta de conocimientos que tienen los estudiantes sobre el sistema académico y administrativo que enfrentan cuando se incorporan al colegio comunitario. Seguramente otros en el lugar de Justo se hubieran sentido abrumados y se hubieran dado por vencidos.

**Comment:** This is incredible. Why did she feel the need to bring a policeman? What made her so uncomfortable she couldn't face these students? This certainly seems like a case of either her own insecurity and inabilities as a teacher, or else downright racism.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*retracted from... from writing that letter, apparently. She said, "What I'm gonna' do, I'm gonna' give you the F, and this way, if you keep taking classes, you can raise your GPA. That's the only thing that's going to affect you. 'Cuz if I write the letter, you're done,"* dijo. *"So what I would do if I were you, I would just keep the F and work hard to get your GPA up, as opposed to appealing. Because if you appeal, then it's going to go in the computer record, and then this is going to be in your record. And once you have an F then... you're not going to win it. You're not going to win it," she's saying. "You're not going to win the appeal." So if... if you decide to appeal, it's going to stay on your record, and you're going to be done,"* dijo. *"So I would just keep the F, don't say anything, walk away with the F, and then just take other classes and raise your GPA,"* dijo. *"That's what I'm going to do for you."* Y, pues, para nosotros fue como, *I would rather take the F than not come back.* Entonces, les dijimos, (exhales sharply), nos quedamos allí, y luego dijo, "*This is your grade, and you can leave."* Dijo, "*You have to sign this."* Pues, lo firmamos. Nos fuimos, y el policía nos escortó para afuera, y... entonces dijimos, vamos a ir con Jaime Sanchez. Nadie sabía... *we were embarrassed.* No sabíamos, sea, ahora ya... éramos como, según yo éramos considerados en el colegio como unos tramposos, unos *cheaters.* Y... y gente que nos ayudó entrar, como... éramos una decepción para nuestros padres, para, para Jaime Sanchez, para Vicente Suárez, que nos habían ayudado entrar.

R: (speaking over) *You were betraying those...*

I: *Yeah, we were betraying, that, uh, trust.*

R: *What happened to the other students? Did they continue?*

I: *The other ones? I... I... The... Besides us three? Our friends? They weren't taking that class. They were taking the Summer Bridge, the other class.*

R: *But your other two friends, did they continue studying?*

00:50:29

I: *Oh yeah. Yeah, they did. They...* hasta el día de hoy todavía son *ilegales* (sic) ellas dos. Y de este... y... y una, milagrosamente una se consideró *in state* y está ahorita estudiando. Y la otra dejó de estudiar. Enton... después de un tiempo porque ella... era mucho para ella, y no estaban avanzando, ya no estaban llendo a ningún lado, entonces, ellas.... ellas iban allí, fuimos a la oficina de Jaime Sanchez para... para asesoramos con él, decirle lo que había pasado. Y la policía nos estaba siguiendo a todas partes. O sea, *we were walking around the campus, we were being escorted by the police officer. We couldn't be alone on the campus.* Finalmente nos agarró el policía y nos decía, "Ya se les acabó el tiempo. Ya tienen que ir del colegio." Y nos sacó. Entonces nos sacó él al estacionamiento, aseguró que nos subiéramos al carro, y nos tuvimos que ir. Y pues, mis amigas tenían una lloradera, de este, yo estaba tratando de actuar fuerte, pero ya veía nuestro futuro acabado. Ellas porque, porque... por sus razones, y yo, porque dije yo, no, pues, sin ayuda financiera yo no puedo. Y sé que... que... se requiere un *GPA* para ayuda financiera. Tantas cosas, tantas pasaron por la mente. Eso fue mi incidente de *Summer Bridge.* Y... mis papás no se rindieron. Dijeron, "Vamos a... a hablar con personas. ¿Con quién hablamos?" Y, incluso cono... conocimos a... se nos dirigió con Alexandra

**Comment:** So here is another example of the power of teachers. In other stories, one teacher has encouraged students to continue. Here is a teacher that essentially crushed a group of students.

**Comment:** This is absurd. If Justo's story is accurate, there is absolutely no reason to believe these students are a threat requiring police escort. Does every instructor who fails a student have the police escort them off campus? There is no real way to judge whether this is racially motivated, but certainly the instructor is overreacting to the situation, not only in her judgement of the students' actions, but in her subsequent actions against them. She is not only working against them, she is trying to remove any recourse they have to appeal her actions. The police are just another layer that help support her story to the students (that she has the power to remove them from all college campuses), and to intimidate them. So it seems, anyway.

**Comment:** Here his parents are an element of support in his life. BUT... they very likely may not have offered this support to him had he not had papers. The papers give them the right to have a voice, go against the system... they can put themselves under scrutiny by the system because they do not have an ultimate vulnerability that could damage them and take away their hopes for a better future. Their papers give them the ability to fight for their rights in a way they do not necessarily have without their papers. Expanding on this idea, there is a number of factors affecting student success that are being uncovered by these stories. In these case studies:
1) Legal status gives these students easier access to enrollment.
2) Legal status gives these students more opportunities to afford education, through federal scholarships and loans
3)Legal status gives students the ability to register as in-state residents (anymore, after Prop 300)
4) Legal status eliminates the fear of discovery and allows the students and their family members to fight unfair treatment.
Otherwise, they try to fly "under the radar," undetected. The exception to this case is the marches and the political ac... [1]

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

Ryan, y... y ella nos ayudó al proceso de apelar. Dijo hay dos cosas que apelar. **Una apelas tú calificación, y la otra apelas la discriminación de ella**. Para apelar tu calificación, tienes que ir con Joan Sanders, y para apelar tu... la discriminación, tienes que ir con Dr. Jameson. Entonces, así fue como conocí a los... a los dos lados, la *instruction side* y la *development side* en el colegio comunitario. Y... fue un proceso largísimo porque teníamos que tener... me tuve que enfrentar yo a ella otra vez... a Valerie Frost, y era... ¿tú sabes su oficina, donde está? El pasillo ese para llegar allí, yo estaba sentado afuera de su oficina, y *Dr.* Michaels, ¿sabes como es un silloncito que está así en la pared? Y se oyen los pasos, y yo la oía venir. Y a mí me dejaba en agonía, porque tenía miedo. *I mean I was... I was terrified* de esa señora que me indimidaba tanto a mí. Y ella sabía que me intimidaba. Y de este, y me sonría una sonrisa muy... irónica, y muy... de este... cínica, como cuando me había arrojado del colegio. Porque todo eso proceso pasó durante el semestre. Entonces estaba lidiando con clases, mi trabajo nuevo, y esto pues, esto, *it was drilling (sic) I mean,* salí de las juntas cansado. Agotado. Pero

00:52:57

tenía que traer yo testigos, em... ella trajo su testigo. Una... una maestra de matemáticas, no me acuerdo cómo se llama, una señora de cabello chino muy esponjado. No sé si todavía estará allí. Es de matemáticas la maestra. No me acuerdo cómo se llama. (inaudible) me acordara. Pero, ella... *she´s a tough math teacher.* Nunca la tuve, pero... Valerie Frost trajo ella como testigo de que tan buena maestra era ella. Y yo traje de testigo mi maestra de... de... *Miss Gutiérrez*, que era una *Chicana Power* a lo máximo. Entonces se daban tiro allí entre ellas, y yo nada más allí. Y Joan Sanders revisó y dijo, sus... no sé cómo funcionaba, pero ella hizo reportes que yo dijo... Justo merece la A. La que sea, ¿no? Al revisar sus trabajos, merece la A. Pues, apeló Valerie Frost, se fue a... a *Dr. Michaels*. Conocí a *Dr. Michaels*, me entrevisté con ella, otro *round* de... de... de entrevistas y (inaudible) con Valerie Frost, y... *Dr. Michaels* agarra y hace su reporte y dice, "*Justo deserves an A after my review.*" Y... volvió a apelar Valerie Frost, y se fue a *Dr. Royce.* Y ahora, pues, otra vez. Hasta *Dr. Royce* lo apagó. Dijo, *"It stops here."* Dijo, este... "*He deserves the A. And there´s no question about it,"* dijo, "Después de revisar esto... simplemente por ver su trabajo, no hay... arrebasa la A... dijo... por lo extremo, aunque le quitaras tantos puntos por haber hecho trampas en esto, que eso es tu palabra contra la de ella," Se portó muy bien. Me dio la razón, pero como sufrí, como... nos hizo sufrir a mí y a mis papás eso es unos ocho meses después ya de todo. Estaba en una clase con... de matemáticas con otra maestra, otra maestra muy... muy buena... am... algo con "M" empieza su nombre, no me acuerdo. De este... eh, con ella estaba (inaudible) de la clase, me sacó un asistente, la asistente de la *Dr. Michaels,* y me dio una carta, y me dijo, "*Congratulations. You have your A,"* me dijo. Y ya. Era una A. Que ya pude respirar con lo de mi GPA, y todo eso.

R: En tus otras clases, sin contar esa calificación, ¿qué tenías?

00:55:03

I: **Em, puras As. Puras A. Me... estuve en *Phi Theta Kappa,* me terminé graduando con tres punto seis algo de *GPA.*** O sea, no... y lo que... lo que

**Comment:** Precisamente el tipo de maestro(a) que no debería estar en el programa de Summer Bridge.

**Comment:** This also demonstrates a great deal of fortitude and stamina. He had to appeal not only once, but three times, and the instructor kept insisting on pushing her side of the case. But he hung in there.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

pasó es que... decidí no tomar nada que tuviera que ver con... con... *language* en ese campus por miedo a que otros maestros fueran a *retaliate* against me. Entonces no más... todos esas de... de lan.... de... de... *writing* y de *reading* y de cualquiér cosa así, abtracta como arte... todo que relacionaba con Valerie Frost lo tomé en otros *campuses*. Que de hecho me ayudó a mí para conocer a otros maestros y otros *Deans* también allí, porque de alguna manera me involucraba, y... y cosas por el estilo. Entonces, esto que pasó fue una... fue una **bendición** verdaderamente. Es lo que se convirtió. Pero otra vez te digo, o sea, fue lo que... lo que quisimos hacer con eso. Porque facilmente me pudiera haber deprimido y no haber hecho nada. Pero cuando uno hace esfuerzo, he aprendido, las cosas... las cosas te van a pasar. Van a pasar para bien. No todo (inaudible) pasan para bien, en toda circunstancia, pero esta... si me hubiera quedado con la cabeza agachada por el hecho de ser un inmigrante nuevo, apenas acabo de conseguir mi residencia, todavía no me he renovado mi mente por completo de que eh, estoy aquí legal, ya tengo el dere... ya puedo hacer esto y aquello. Porque tenía también antes, pero no sabía... pudiera haberme deprimido. Pero presisamente, el pelear, el luchar, siempre te da buenos resultados... Siempre te da un tipo de resultado. En este caso trajo una gran número de bendiciones que después ya *Dr. Michaels* y *Dr. Royce* me dijeron, "Hola" y, "Justo," y "éntrate en este comité," y... "¿por qué no te metes en el comité?" y... diferentes cosas de que, cómo renovar el campus. Entonces, "Justo, ¿por qué no entras?" y me pusieron embajador del community college campus, y luego... con el *Chancellor* me empecé a llevar muy bien también, cuando fue una vez allí, *Dr. (inaudible)* me presentó con él, y tiene muy buena memoria, el Dr. James y...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...se acordaba de mí. Y... una cosas guia a otro, y me hice **presidente de los estudiantes del *Campus***, y luego... luego... siempre, fuimos a esas juntas de planear para el colegio comunitario, cada cinco años, no sé cuántos hacía allí. Y me tocó a mí un tiempo hacer eso, entonces fui allí. Fue cuando conocí a todos los *Deans* de todos los demás campuses, y...

R: (affirmative noises)

00:57:18

I: ...y... nada más, al último, me acuerdo, de mi carrera en el colegio comunitario, me dijo Dr. James, me sentó en su oficina y me dijo, "*You know why you were successful at the community college?,"* Y le dije yo, "No," le digo. Y luego me dijo, "*It´s because you always showed up,"* me dijo. "*Because you always... you were always... I mean, whatever it was, you were always there.*" Entonces lo que pasaba... porque cualquiér junta que había, nunca me perdí la oportunidad de ir. Depués conocí a personas, terminé siendo el... el a... el estudiante representante de *Board of Governors* y me... conocí allá la mesa directiva *of the board,* y todavía. Vi a Margarita Camacho hace poquito y me llevó con ella, *Dr. Elton,* todos ellos todavía... de este... Ryan Foster lo acabo de ver, nos escribimos *e-mails* de vez en cuando, todavía me llevo bien con ellos.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Em, y... pues, así. Y... con Sharon, con Sandy, con (inaudible). Y pues allí me fui muy bien también mi último año allí en el colegio comunitario. Y... pues,

**Comment:** This is too bad. Although I suppose it is an advantage that one can still take language classes on other campuses. I suppose he would have continued taking the classes he needed on that campus had he had no other choice...?

**Comment:** This has appeared more than once in these interviews also... where something bad happens, and in the end the interviewee recognizes that good things came of the bad. This is indicative of a positive outlook, a refusal to be a victim. People with victim mentality review their lives and see how only bad came of bad things. None of these interviewees suffer from a victim mentality, even in situations where it might be appropriate.

**Comment:** Una vez más la habilidad de Justo de transformer retos en oportunidades y de ver la cara positive de las cosas.

**Comment:** He talks so casually about these things, as if they were all happening to him and he wasn't putting any effort into them. He is certainly downplaying his own work. A campaign for campus student presidency represents a significant amount of effort on his part, as well as participating in all of these committees. But yes, his experience with Valerie Frost certainly helped him make connections and launched him into a position where he was invited to participate in committees... which I am sure helped his run for the presidency of the Campus, etc etc...

**Comment:** So socioeconomics and financial aid come into play here... a student who must work excessive hours outside of his or her studies will not have this ability to always be there. Justo worked, but he certainly also had the luxury to be involved in these activities. He was able to use financial aid so he could focus on these committees... which are also an investment in his future.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

me gradué con... honores del colegio comunitario. Y ya habiendo hecho lo qué tenía que hacer con las responsabilidades de mantenimiento, porque allí trabajé todo el tiempo. Hasta... hasta los de la mesa directiva, sea, me fui muy a gusto con muy buen sabor del colegio comunitario, tanto académicamente como con relaciones con la gente de mantenimiento que nos... te juro eso fue el mejor trabajo que he tenido en toda mi vida, el de mantenimiento. (laughs) He estado en Washington trabajando, ningún trabajo me hace tan divertido como (inaudible) de mantenimiento (laughs). Hasta con los *Deans* y lo de la mesa... la *Board of Governors,* porque es gente muy amable también. Entonces,

**Comment:** And the instructor winds up looking bad in the end...

R: (laughs)

I: ...todo empezó por eso. Por *Summer Bridge.*

R: Dime sobre tus motivaciones. Me dices que siempre... siempre estabas involucrado, y yo lo sé bien que es, eh... que es cierto... eh, involucrado en muchas actividades.... metido en mil cosas, y, pues eres buen estudiante. ¿Qué te motiva? ¿Qué te motivaba? ¿Qué era que... lo que te impulsaba?

R: Mira, como te digo, voy a tomar un factor de cada uno de esos tres áreas que te dije: em, primero que nada, eh, mis papás. Mi... mi... siempre... siempre mi mamá me decía esto. Me decía, "Tú crees... tú crees que puedes guiar entre un grupo de personas." Y yo pues decía, "Sí, creo." Dice mi mamá, "Eso no es suficiente," me dice. "Tú tienes que... ser... tú tienes que brillar entre las estrellas," me dice mi mamá siempre. "Si una

**Comment:** Una vez más, la influencia ponderosa de la madre.

00:59:37

estrella brilla entre... entre piedras," me dice, "eso no es difícil." Me decía, "pero cuando una estrella brilla entre otras estrellas," me dice, "eso es lo que define una persona. Tú tienes que ser mejor que los mejores," me decía. "No nada más tienes que ser mejor. Tienes que ser mejor que los mejores. Cuando alguién... cuando alguién corre la milla, si te dicen a tí para estar en el equipo, tienes que correr (inaudible) en seis minutos, tienes que correr en cinco y medio," me dice mi mamá. "Nunca, nunca seas conformista. No... no tengas certitud de apenas," me dice. "Vinimos aquí a trabajar duro," me dice, "y vas a trabajar duro en lo que hagas." Me dice, "No viniste tú... no vinimos aquí nosotros para hacer trabajos duros en el campo... para hacer trabajos duros lavando carros como tu papá. Tú enfócate." Dice, "*We...* " Me decía, "nosotros trabajamos duro para que tú pienses duro. Nosotros trabajamos duro para que tú tengas la oportunidad de ir a la universidad, de ir al colegio. Nosotros no la tenemos. Aquí. Vinimos a ser inmigrantes. Pero tú sí la tienes. Pero... pero que los papeles, eso no te... no estoy hablándote de papeles. Estoy hablando de tí," me dice. A mis papás nunca importaron las circunstancias. Nunca importaron las circunstancias. Siempre por todo lo que tienes adentro, y que tan duro vas a trabajar por él. Eso fue lo de parte de mi familia. En la parte de fútbol americano, siempre fue igual. No... por alguna razón, todos los muchachitos que jugaban, jugaron *Pop Warner,* que es desde chiquito sigue aprenden jugar. Yo no. Yo estaba jugando en el parque, pero no me... no sabía lo que eran jugadas, em... muchas veces el idioma no lo entendía, eh, cosas desde como "*What´s up?*" o sea, yo (inaudible) volteaba arriba cuando me decían, porque yo aprendí

en México el inglés... correcto, ¿entiendes? No era el inglés de que, "*Hey, what´s up?*" y yo, "*I don´t know.*" ¿Entiendes?
R: (laughing)
I: Y no sabía qué onda. Em, por ejemplo cuando decían, "*Don´t swear.*" Yo pensaba que me decían que no jurara en vez de...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: ... de que no diga malas palabras, ¿entiendes?
R: (affirmative noises)
01:01:25
I: Em, en el equipo de... de... de... *track* decía el *coach,* "*We don´t swear here!*" Y yo decía, pues, no juro. Yo nunca he jurado nada, y no entiendo qué es (inaudible). Cositas así que... que eran diferentes.
R: Entonces es... el idioma en cierta forma fue un reto cuando llegaste, ¿verdad?
I: Sí, los modismos más que nada. Los modismos. Entonces, eh, en futból americano, eh, tuve que trabajar duro. Tuve que trabajar muy duro para... para ganar ese respeto de... de no ser tan conocido como... ¿sabes?... *the... the Mexican guy. The Mexican.* Me... me... me autonombraron el pateador del equipo cuando recién entré, porque *as someone* que jugaba *soccer.* Más malo para patear que no te imagínes, me corrieron inmediatamente de esa posición. Pero no asumían que era rápido, no asumían que era fuerte, no asumían que podía ser un buen *running back,* que es lo que era.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Y me tuve que ganar este puesto con trabajo duro y callado. Pero como te digo, no era gritón. Y... y tal vez era... ahorita que me pongo a pensar, cuando me quitaban la posición, dije yo, "¿Qué (inaudible) quitarme esa posición?" Yo fui con el *coach* y le dije a... le dije, "*Give me a... give me the opportunity. And I can prove to you that I´m gonna´ score at least two touchdowns this game.*" Yo sé que lo podía hacer, pero no tenía el valor para decirlo. Ahorita te diga, yo soy más agresivo, y reconozco donde... donde tengo habilidad.
R: Y tienes más confianza...
I: Y tengo más confianza en mi mismo. En ese tiempo, gran parte era no tener confianza en ti mismo. Y... y entonces, decidía si me quitaban de una jugada, entonces a mí me decía, "okay, yo voy a trabajar dos veces más duro." Hacía los... las sentadillas más duras, hacía, caminaba más rápido, corría más porque, simplemente quería, tenía esa necesidad, como te digo, que era mi futuro, era como lo veía. Este es el... en el segundo área. En la tercera área, que es el de mi fe, siempre he aprendido de... de... en la... dice... en la vida dice, dice "fe es la certeza de lo que se espera, y la convicción de lo que no se ve." Decía justo por fe vivía. Entonces para mí la fe no era una esperanza. Era un estilo de vida. Es un estilo de vida. Es... es llamar las cosas que no son, como si son. Entonces, esa circunstancia que estaba alrededor de mí, que yo oraba, desde chiquito decía a Dios, decía, "Padre," decía, "yo voy a poner mi parte, y espero que tú pongas tu parte. *Let´s go fifty and fifty on this.*" Ahora me doy
01:03:38
cuenta que realmente era él *ninety nine* y yo una porque mi esfuerza, lo que yo ponía. Pero, siempre tuve esa relación con Dios. Le decía, vamos ahora, y

**Comment:** La importancia del idioma.

**Comment:** A huge stereotype at work here, very blatantly applied.

**Comment:** No cabe duda que la espiritualidad es una fuerza interna que ayuda a Justo en todas las dimensiones de su vida.

vamos a hacer cosas grandes. Sea, vamos, y yo tenía esa confianza de que él estaba conmigo. Y poco a poco vio desarollando todo eso. Porque desde niño, yo siempre había sido tartamudo. No... no me salían palabras enteras. Tenía problema de tartamudez y inseguridad. Em, mi amá decía que... me cuenta a veces que ellos eran los presidentes de... de la asociación de padres en la escuela donde estaba en México, y ella a vez tenía negocios que ir a la escuela. A ir, me veía sentado en el recreo solo. Porque era tan tímido que no pe... no pedía juego, lo que se le llaman. No hacía... "quiero jugar." Así que mi amá salió llorando porque le dolía verme no tener amigos. De tan tímido que era.

R: (something hits microphone) Claro.

I: Porque me daba vergüenza hablar con los niños porque tartamudeába. Me daba vergüenza hablar con los niños porque... porque era gordito, entonces o sea, tantas cosas que... que crecí con inseguridades. Y... y... y poco a poco en la (inaudible), mi mamá metiéndome... consejos, y dedicándome horas en la noche a veces, y tiempo siempre, y nunca me dejaba que... "¿Qué sucedio? ¿Qué te pasó en la escuela? Ve periodo por periodo." "Bueno, el primer periodo hice eso, el segundo hice esto..." Y siempre aprovechaba oportunidades. Siempre de todo... veía televisión, la ponía en pausa y me decía, "Mira. ¿Por qué piensas que pasó esto? ¿Por qué piensas que pasó aquello?" Sí, mi amá dedicó muchísimo tiempo. Puedo decir que mucho más que a mis hermanas. Me dedicó mucho tiempo tal vez porque me vio, me necesitaba el tiempo, era el primer, era hombre, por muchas razones, no sé, me dedicó muchísimo tiempo mi madre todo el tiempo. Em, deporte me formó, y... y...

01:05:16

y la fe. Y mi relación, la gente con mi iglesia, entre ellos (inaudible) fueron las cosas que más formaron, y me fueron formando a... a punto de que puedo dar discursos, y puedo... puedo ya dar mi opinión libremente. En un salón de la universidad de doscientos personas puedo levantar la mano bien a gusto, y preguntar algo. Que no fue así cuando recién llegué, déjame decirte. Aún cuando salí del colegio comunitario, el ir a la universidad era otro cambio. Y ahora era... (inaudible) que yo pensaba, han estado aquí ellos por tres años. Ellos conocen la universidad mucho más que yo. (inaudible) pregunta es tonta. Todavía tengo eses pensamientos.

R: Entonces, evolucionaste de ser una persona sumamente tímida, con eh... con muchos, em... con muchas limitaciones. Tú te veías con limitaciones a tí mismo, pero finalmente... fue un proceso como de... de descubrimiento, ¿no?

I: Sí. (two seconds of silence) Ciertas cosas que rodeaban (inaudible) mi vida, fueron haciendo eso, y una de esas que te puedo decir que fue la más grande fue obtener la residencia. Sea, sentir un nivel de seguridad. Un nivel de... (exhales)... o sea, de... pues, sea... no te digo mentiras. Un guardia de seguridad en el *mall* me ponía nervioso. Cualquiér persona de autoridad me ponía nervioso.

**Comment:** Right... this corroborates that his residency took away a lot of fear... it gave him a sense of security he didn't have before in the US.

R: Y viviste así... ¿cuántos años?

I: Vivimos así, pues desde que llegamos, intentamos la residencia por otros lados. **Fueron como dos, tres años más o menos.** Cuando recién empezamos el proceso de residencia, que nos dieron un número de caso que sí nos protegía

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

para estar aquí, pero uno no puede hacer muchas cosas, fueron como otros tres años más o menos.

R: Es decir, viviste con esa incertidumbre eh, durante seis años...

I: Sí, más o menos...

R: ...aproximadamente.

I: ...cinco, seis años.

R: Y, em, ¿cuáles fueron... o... por lo menos uno de los retos en que puedas pensar que tuviste mientras estuviste en el colegio, mientras fuiste a la escuela?

I: ¿Retos de... de...?

01:07:20

R: Retos en cuanto a... obstaculos, o... cosas que casi te dejaron fuera de la escuela. Ya me dijiste uno...

I: Oh, sí... sí, uno de los retos... eso es un ejemplo específico. Pero en general, eh, era verdaderamente, no conocer el sistema. Eso... eso es... porque no tenía con nadie que ir. No tenía... mi papá no me iba a poder decir... no que no conociera gente en el colegio, pero que me dijera, ah, mira es como la carrera es... aquí es esto. O sea, eh, tú sabes como es diferente como funcionan en México las carreras que aquí. Aquí, como me preguntó mi papá, ¿porqué estás tomando matemáticas, si estás en la universidad? ¿Qué... qué tiene que ver eso con... tu carrera? ¿Qué quieres ser? Eh, y yo pues, ¿Qué quiero ser? Pues, quiero ser esto, pero... uh, no... no sé ni como hacerle entonces, eh, por ejemplo, quiero ser abogado. Ah, bien, pero no sabía yo que tenías que... tener... eh, agarrar un *Associates of liberal arts* en el colegio comunitario, luego irte a... a este, a la universidad y tomar algo... otra carrera. Tal vez historia, ciencia política, lo que sea. Y luego solicitar, tomar los *LSATs* y ir a... No, o sea, yo que... yo quiero ser abogado y punto. ¿Me entiendes? Para darte un ejemplo o... ¿Qué quieres ser? Yo quiero tener un negocio. ¿De qué? Pues, quién sabe. Entonces no... no tenía dirección. Entonces, a causa de eso, eh... me... casi me perdió oportunidades. Pero eso fue rescatado al hecho de que... cualquier persona que iba al colegio, hablar de algo, allí estaba. Si te interesaba, si no te interesaba, si era de química, como si era de negocio que me interesaba, no más quería estar allí. Yo quería aprender. Quería enterarme. Tenía que enterarme porque... detrás de mi venía todos mis primos, todos mis hermanas, y... y yo tenía que saber. Yo... yo no podía dejar que mi familia pasara por eso atrás. Alguien tenía que... que quebrar eso. Y lo hice cuando fui primero que fue a *middle school,* que nadie... no sabíamos nada de *middle school*, no sabía cuál era el sistema de... cambiar de salones para mí eso era nuevo, era completamente nuevo. Cosas que se le pasan por... por de este, porque se repite mucho. Sea, la primera que sonaba el timbre, que todos salieron, salí yo y vi la (inaudible) de gente por todas partes y dije yo, ¿qué está pasando aquí? La alarma de fuego, ¿qué está pasando? No... no entendía. Eh, fui el primero que fue a *high school,* fui el primero que fue al colegio comunitario, o sea, he sido el primero. Y ya somos (inaudible) entonces yo... yo necesitaba saber. Pero lo que casi (inaudible) afuera fue eso. De lo económico, gracias a Dios, dejó de ser problema, porque después de esa beca, por diferentes razones, por ambajador o

**Comment:** A pesar del gran apoyo familiar del que gozaba, Justo reconoce que sus padres no podían apoyarlo ayudándole a entender el sistema escolar, pues no estaban familiarizados con él.

**Comment:** Some of the words are missing in the recording, but he seems to be saying that the most difficult thing for him was his unfamiliarity with the system. Even economics ceased to be a problem, but he had to work very hard to learn how the education system works in the U.S., and this was a great obstacle for him.

luego por presidente y luego por lo que sea, se me otorgaron becas. O sea, me otorgaron becas. O sea, nunca pagué nada.

01:09:49

R: Es decir, eh, fue gracias a las becas, no... no... porque lo económico eh... eh... no fue una preocupación...

I: No, no, no.

R: ... porque...

I: Fue por las becas.

R: Sino porque, afortunadamente tuviste...

I: Sí.

R: ...tuviste ese... esa habilidad de...

I: Sí. O sea, mis papás no pudieran haber pagado. Aunque eran... no sé cuanto sea ahorita, pero en ese tiempo era alrededor de quinientos cincuenta (inaudible) dólares por semestre. Más libros, y... y... sabes todo esto. O sea, era bastante. El problema es que debemos ochocientos, novecientos dólares por seméstre, mis papás no hubieran podido pagar. Era imposible para ellos pagar ese dinero. Y... y entonces, como te digo... una vez más el trabajo duro dio el resultado, em, bueno, es que (inaudible) y estaba involucrado. Me... me bendijo con... becas. Y nunca fueron becas de un año, es lo que más me... tenía... eran becas de semestre. Sea, cada semestre era... okay, tiempo de ganarme otra. Tiempo de darle duro a otra. O sea, ahora explorar (inaudible). Porque el presidente no más puedo recibir dos... porque fui presidente dos años en seguidos.

R: Presidente del campus...

I: De... de...

R: ... de... de...

I: ...de estudiantes...

R: ...de estudiantes...

I: ...estudiantes. Dos años seguidos, pero no más puedo recibir la beca un año. Es el requisito. Y dije yo, bueno, ahora vamos a buscar en otro lado. Entonces era... era de no saber nada. Y muchas veces pasó de que fui, busqué, y otra veces pasó de que vino alguien y me lo ofreció. Pasó de las... de todas maneras, pero era... era *being at the right spot at the right time.* Entonces, como era mi posición, *I always wanted to be at the spot.* ¿Me entiendes? *Being at the right... at the right spot at the right time, I wasn't going to guess when it was the right time. I was just going to be at the spot. And sometimes it was the right time, sometimes it was a waste of time.* Pero a veces que estuve, *it was worth it.* Entonces me...

00:11:29

R: ¿Cuántas becas obtuviste en...?

I: **Seis. Seis porque eran... eran... fui tres años allí. Y mi último año...**

**R: Eh... me estás hablando nada más del colegio comunitario.**

**I: Sí, del colegio comunitario.**

R: Y luego además obtuviste beca para ir a la universidad.

I: Sí. Mi último año me elijieron en... en el *All Arizona Academic Team.* Y luego *All USA Academic Team* después de eso. Que en... *All Arizona I came in...* en tercer equipo, *in third team.* Y luego en... en *All USA I came in bronze team*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

también. Y lo que eso te da, te da una beca para cualquier universidad del estado que quieras ir. *ASU, NAU, U of A.* Entonces te cubre la... la... tu... tu colegiatura, nada más. De completo.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Pero hubiera con mis papás yo, entonces fue una bendición. Entonces me fui con eso. Y ya estando allí, en.. en el colegio, en la universidad, ya me gané otras becas como... *Hispanic Scholarship Fund*, o... *CHCI scholarship o*...una de *Phi Beta Kappa* me daban una beca. Nunca me invitaban a ser parte de *Phi Beta Kappa,* pero... me ganaba sus becas. (laughing) O sea, (inaudible).

R: ¿Por qué nunca te invitabaron a ser parte de...?

I: No sé, fíjate. No sé. Esa... sí sabes que fueron becas por invitación nada más. No... no...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Yo dije... como... una de las entrevistas, como el segundo o el tercer entrevista que me hicieron, la... la tercera beca que estaba intentando con ellos, me... me... (inaudible) la entrevista, íbamos bien. Me dijeron... les dije yo, "*So how do I join Phi Beta Kappa?*" Y me dijeron, "*Oh, it's... by invitation only. It's a national organization that they spot people and they invite you.*" Entonces... traté duro para... para... pues, no... no sabía, "*What can I do?*" les decía. Me decían, "*You... you just keep doing what you're doing and you're going to get an invitation.*" Pero nunca... nunca me llegó la invitación. Me gradué de... *cum laude* pero nunca llegó mi invitación. Entonces, pues, ni modo, ¿no? Pero sí me becaron algunas veces. Mil dólares, aquí y allá, pero ayudaban, ¿no?

01:13:19

R: Claro.

I: Y de este... para libros o para gastos, porque viajaba bastante. Con... con todo esto, le traje... los viajes que tuve fuera de la ciudad, cada vez que viajaba, le traía a mi mamá uno de esos *magnets* para el refrigerador de la ciudad, del estado que iba. Y al final los conté y eran como quince que le traje. O sea, que podía viajar a quince estados durante mi... cosa que era para mi imposible antes... nunca lo había imaginado. Pero...

R: Es decir, ¿viajaste haciendo qué tipo de actividad?

I: Haciendo, ah, al final ya era... era el orador de conferencias. Había una conferencia que se llama *National Conference on Race and Ethnicity, NCORE,* se llama.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Fui dos años a esa. Había un año que no me eligieron. *Dr. Jameson* dijo que mi solicitud estuvo muy débil. (laughing) Y es cierto. Había estado. Me dijo cómo arreglarla. Solicité los próximos dos años y... y de (inaudible) grupos, dos años que fuimos allá. Eh, competencias de diferente tipo de... de... como SIFE (sic) que ganamos concursos nacionales. En una de ellas presentábamos en frente de jueces que era el *CEO* de Radio Shack y de WalMart y de gente así. Y entonces eh... más bien, muchas conferencias, pero también, cosas que tuvieron que ver con *public speaking* o discursos, o...

R: (affirmative noises)

**Comment:** I'm not sure exactly what Phi Beta Kappa's requirements are. He certainly is the type of student they would be interested in, as far as his leadership and outside school activities go.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: ...cosas por el estilo. Entonces... podía viajar a lugares así, y a... pues, fue cuando también fui a... el departamento... estaba el *Department of State* de los Estados Unidos. Eligieron a cuatros estudiantes de Estados Unidos para ir a empresar equipos de... de... libre comercio en Egipto, en Cairo. Y me eligieron a mi. Entonces viajé con el departamento...

R: ¿Fuiste a Egipto?

I: Sí. Con el departamento...

R: No lo sabía.

I: Sí, (laughing), pues, eh... fue una experiencia muy única porque pues, eram... íbamos como... éramos considerados *U.S. V.I.Ps,* pues. Y entonces teníamos una guardia de seguridad enorme, y no... (laughing, inaudible) no estaba acostumbrado a eso definitivamente. El servicio secreto traíamos y todo. Fue... fue muy interesante la historia. Y estuvimos...

R: ¿Cuándo fuiste...? ¿Cuándo fuiste a Egipto?

01:15:07

I: En febrero del dos mil cuatro. Febrero del dos mil cuatro. Y... y de este... y esto... cuatro de la Universidad de Arizona fuimos a Egipto a empezar esos equipos, y cuatro de la Universidad de... *Jury University* fueron a Marruecos. Y, pues, nosotros fuimos... eses dos países en África escojió el Departamento del Estado para... para empezar equipos de libre comercio de estudiantes. Y nosotros fuimos a Egipto. Fuimos allá ocho días. Y... y pues, el equipo... la Universidad de Arizona... fue responsable de escoger a cuatro... y yo acaba de llegar. Pero... acabamos de regresar de Puebla, donde fuimos a... enseñarle a unos agricultores... cómo hacer un plan de mercadotécnia para su producto de Salsa de Mixiote se llama la salsa. Y acabamos de ir, y... y entonces lo que hice yo, me di cuenta, no sabía hasta que llegué allí, que tenía una habilidad para traducir simultáneamente. Entonces mientras estaba hablando el... el agricultor este mexicano, yo estaba traduciendo al inglés. Y cuando los que aquí decían (inaudible), de igual manera, estaba traduciendo de... *back and forth,*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Pero simultáneamente. Para no perder tiempo. Dijeron... (inaudible) estaba traduciendo, pero estaba tardando muchísimo, y me dijeron ¿Crees que lo puedes hacer simultáneamente? No creo, le dije, pero vamos a tratar. Pero era... la empecé hacer, y... salió. Entonces... entonces, se quedaron, Wow, este muchacho trabaja duro. Este... podemos tomar el... porque los otros que fueron a mí me estaban... me decían por tres años habían demonstrado su... dedicación al equipo...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Pero yo tenía el semestre yendo. Pero, gracias a Dios, tuve gracia y favor allí con ellos, y... me... me escogieron para ir. Y entonces fui... regresé de Egipto, y una super experiencia también. Muy buena. Inclusive, del colegio comunitario, Tammi me habló y me dijo, "¿Fuiste a Egipto y te dedicaron un pequeñito... de este... ad allí en el colegio, en el *bulletin* de..."

01:16:51

R: (affirmative noises)

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: ... Justo Carbona fue a Egipto, un *recent graduate* del colegio comunitario y... y muy bien allí. En el colegio comunitario también me... me... me contrataron algunas veces para dar un tipo de *motivational speaking* a estudiantes que estaban tratando de ir al colegio.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: También hablaba en conferencias así con ellos. O sea, yo me mantenía involucrado con el colegio comunitario porque estoy muy agredecido con todo lo que he recibido de allí, pues. Entonces, cosas así. Como viajé a Puebla, como te digo, a Tlaxcala, en diferentes proyectos. A Egipto a... San Carlos venía muy en seguida. Hacía un proyecto con niños, enseñándoles computación.
R: ¿Todo esto con la Universidad de Arizona?
I: Con la Universidad de Arizona. Sí. Y fíjate, de... el equipo este de SIFE, me enteré de ellos porque... estaba yo en... en el colegio, y... Dr. Jameson los trajo. Y, como te digo, fui. Fui, nada más fui, me presenté y... nada empezó nada. Como dicen, *they didn't think much of me, they just said, oh, okay, here's another community college student. Uh,* uno de ellos dijo, bueno, ¿quieres información? Sí, nunca... no voy a decir que no. Le dije que sí, era información. Y empezaban algo que se llamaba... en la universidad, *Credit-wise Cats.* Que... que enseñas finanzas personales a... como, tarjetas de crédito, a estudiantes.

**Comment:** Justo has an incredible ability to sniff out an opportunity. Many students become involved, but do not always understand what they should be involved IN to go in the specific direction they want to go. Justo is almost calculated in his activities, and this ability has given him some incredible opportunities.

R: (affirmative noises)
I: Así empezamos a... entonces, parte de sus... proyectos, para enseñar a la competencia nacional era que tenías que empezar equipos nuevos de SIFE en tu própia ciudad. Y fueron al colegio, y allí estaba yo, me dijeron, ¿Quieres hacerte responsable de esto? Y dije yo, pues sí, me hago responsable. Empezamos ese proyecto, empezamos a enseñar a estudiantes finanzas personales, y cosas por el estilo. Y nos invitaban a la competencia nacional de ellos. No más a... a... a ver. Entonces dije yo, vamos a ver nada más. Entonces fuimos, y estábamos en la cena. Y llegó un... un muchacho que ahora es uno de mis mejores amigos, y me dice... me dice, "*Hey buddy,*" me dice, "*I'm glad you guys came.*" Éramos tres del colegio comunitario. Cuatro nada más.
R: (affirmative noises)
01:18:33
I: Estaba con Wendy McFee, era la que se encargaba de esto...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: ...y me dice, me dice, "*Hey man, listen we're... we're one team short. Would you mind just going up there and bidding for... for a room? That way, you know, we have the teams evened up. You don't have to compete. Just go up there, pick a number and... you know, pick a... um... um... a room. And then the rest of the teams are going to pick as well, and then you compete, and that's it, man. I mean, that's all you gotta' do.*" *I was like, "John, no... no... I don't think so."And he was like...* y me dice, "*Oh, come on. Just go... you're just bidding.*" Y le dije yo, "*Okay, fine. I'll go.*" Entonces, fui, agarro el número, y saco el número dos. O sea, que me tocaba escogerse... ni sabía qué estaba haciendo... me dicen, "*Just pick a room.*" Pues fui, agarré el cuarto a la última hora.

R: (affirmative noises)
I: Y ya regresé y luego me dicen, em... el muchacho me dice, "*Hey, once you're up there, why don't you just go ahead and compete?*" Y le digo yo, "*No, no, no. We don't want to compete.*" Lo que era es de que te dan un caso, una familia con problemas financieros...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: ... y tienes que resolverlo. Entonces, *finance majors, marketing majors, business majors* vienen de once diferentes universidades de Estados Unidos, y traen sus cuatro personas, y los hacen competir. Entonces, *you have thirty-six hours to do that.* Y le dije, "*No, man,*" le dije, le dije, "*She's an education major, I'm a Political Science major, she's an education major as well, and uh... and she's a, uh...*" ¿Qué era? "*history,*" la otra muchacha, "*but she's not even going to be here.*" le digo. "*It's three of us, we don't have any tech people... no... we don't have anything*" le dije. "*I mean, we have to work. I have to go to school. If we were going to be here for thirty-six hours straight just working on the case... I have a full-time job I have to go to. And.. and then school. I'm gonna' have like five hours tonight to work on this case.*" Y luego me dice, "*Oh, come on. Just do it. Go ahead.*" Y luego, todos querían menos yo. Y luego, okay... accepté. Dije, vamos a hacerlo. Y lo hicimos...
R: Y ni durmían esa noche...
I: No. Pssh. No dormimos. Llegamos el próximo día, esto nos enseñamos hacer a... era esos dos porque era mamá e hija, las dos estaban en silla de ruedas, era una situación que no eran... no eran estudiantes tradicionales pues, yo. Era yo, y dos señoras, mamá y hija, que estaban las dos en silla de ruedas. Entonces no... no había mucha mobilidad para poder... hacer investigaciones, estar en la universidad hasta tarde, subir escaleras, no podíamos hacer esto. Teníamos muchas limitaciones.

01:20:37

R: (affirmative noises)
I: Y no teníamos ni idea de como competir, como presentar, cuál era el proceso, nada. Pues, en fin. El caso es que fuimos, competimos, según los jueces dimos un... una perspectiva diferente a los demás. Porque no teníamos la perspectiva de finanzas, pero dimos la perspectiva porque todo decía, bueno... si (inaudible) tiene que recibir atención de este... atención financiera y consejería financiera definitamente... (inaudible). Entonces si lo viera los demás, llegué, y dije yo, ¿sabes qué? Para un hombre hispano, mexicano, es difícil aceptar que tienes una situación económica en su casa. Y ir a pedir ayuda para la cultura de nosotros, no es lo más... lo más común. O sea, que recomendara esa estaría afuera... basado en cultura. Entonces todos tenían todo... se puede recibir dinero. Y nosotros (inaudible) dije yo, No, pues, la señora es maestra, y el señor es carpintero. Si él trabaja para la universidad y ella trabaja para el colegio comunitario, la colegiatura es casi grátis. Pagan veinticinco dólares en el colegio, paga cien dólares a la universidad. Allí está. Y decía... allí se ahorran... miles de dólares. Era bien básica... (laughing)

**Comment:** I guess so... they didn't have the same training or materials, so they just did whatever they could! This is a parallel to the immigrant experience... and why immigrants can be so valuable to a society that appreciates ingenuity and entrepreneurship.

**Comment:** This is why we need Hispanic leaders... why MAS is so important. This cultural competency is what is lacking in so many services today... education, health care, government policy, etc etc etc...

R: (affirmative noises)
I: ...desde nuestro punto de vista. Pero les gustó a los jueces.

R: Pero eran diferentes.
01:21:38
I: Eran diferentes, pues. Entonces allí conocí a unos señores que se llama Amy Granger, y Aaron Granger, que hoy son mis... mis mentores. Ellos pagaban mi proceso de ciudadanía, ellos... me han bendecido grandamente muchas cosas. Vamos a desayunar una vez al mes (inaudible) todavía. Son unos viejitos, eh... de mucho dinero, retirados de Minesota que vinieron aquí a ser voluntarios. Y eran jueces en este concurso. El caso es de que nos tocó en nuestro cuatro el equipo número uno del mundo, de hecho, de... de esta competencia. Porque esta competencia... no de este... sector, pero de SIFE, compites en la región, avances y compites en la nacional, avances y compites en el mundo representando a Estados Unidos. Y el equipo que estaba allí, era de la escuela de equipo que representaba Estados Unidos en la conferencia mundial. Entonces eran ellos, eran *Arizona Western,* que son muy buenos en el... en el sector de la *Community College*, y era otro que había ganado tercero en la competencia nacional y nosotros. Imagínate. El caso es que quedamos en segundo lugar en nuestro cuarto. *Arizona Western* fue el que pasó, a la... al *round* final. Y... me estaba diciendo después John, me dice, hubo una discución, me dice, como media hora entre los jueces a si ustedes avanzaban, o si nosotros avanzaban. Me dice, era la historia de *Rocky*, me dice. (laughing) No podíamos creer... el equipo que entraba a la última hora. Entonces que... una bendición. Y entonces después de eso, vinieron los directores de SIFE de la *U of A*, y me dijeron, te vimos presentar, tienes un talento nato para presentar, obviamente eres el líder del grupo, y me dijeron, ¿Qué te parece si vienes con nosotros el próximo año y entras el SIFE? Y... así es como me enteré de SIFE. Eran de la universidad. Entonces entré a la universidad, y.. y ya te había contado el resto lo que hice en la universidad.

**Comment:** Justo definitivamente ha sabido desarrollar sus redes de apoyo en diferentes sectores de la comunidad.

R: ¿Cómo fuiste... cómo fuiste, ah, para ir a Washington?
I: A Washington D.C. de... hay un muchacho que... él es de Texas, su papá marchó con César Chávez, pero él... literalmente lo digo porque él lo dice, así le da vergüenza ser Mexicano. No le gusta ser mexicano. Se da vergüenza. Alejandro se llama, se puso Alexander. No hay problema de que se cambia de nombre, pero no más la... pura razón por la que él se lo cambia... decidió cambiarlo porque... le da vergüenza ser mexicano. *I hate being Mexican*, dice. *I hate my... I just, I don't identify with them.* Dice. Y él es de Texas. Entonces él llegó de carrilla y me dijo, me dijo, "*Hey, you're proud of being Mexican, right?*" Y le dije, "*Yeah, yeah.*" Y luego me dice, "*Well, here's something for you Hispanics,*" me dijo. Me dijo, me dio una solicitud para algo que se llama *CHCI. Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute.* Y me dijo, "*It's due in a week,*" me dijo. De este... "*but,*" me dijo, "*I saw it, and... you know, I... I know that you're all proud, and you're all raza,*" me dice, "*So, uh, you know, so you go ahead and try it out,*" me dice. "*Maybe you like it.*"

**Comment:** En términos freireanos, la internalización de la mentalidad del opresor y del auto-desprecio.

01:24:11
R: *Congressional...*
I: *...Hispanic Caucus Institute.* Se llama. *It's a summer internship program.* Y entonces... y yo lo leí, y dije yo... no era nada... y decía tenía *Summer Internship,*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

tenía *Scholarship,* y tenía *Fellowship.* Entonces son tres sectores de este... de este programa.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Entonces vi qué me aplicaba a mí. Pues, el *internship* es para *undergrads.* Y dije yo, *Okay, I'll apply.* En una semana me aventé dos *essays,* eh, Wendy McFee era mi directora. Me decía ella, *I'm gonna' tear your paper up, Justo,* me decía. Y le dije, *Go, go for it.* Me lo agarraba y me... (inaudible) era no sé si la conoces, pero ella no era... *she wasn't very sensitive to cultural issues* a veces...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Entonces ella, muchas veces me quitaba palabras no más tomaba de ella lo gramátical y... y... me ayudó mucho... una bendición la señora, muy linda. Muy linda. No me quejo para nada de ella. Me ayudó mucho, entregué la soliticitud justo a tiempo. El último día, sin nada de dormir, porque eran unas cosas, *there were letters of recommendation,* eran tantas cosas que tenía que hacer. *Dr. McCarthy* me escribió una, o sea... la cosa es que la entregué, y eran varios pasos, ¿no? porque parece que... que recibes... reciben miles de solicitudes para esto. Y la mandé, y... hice *top twenty.* Pero en este... *top forty.* Entonces, nada más llevan a *thirty. Fifteen males and fifteen females.* Y... me escriben una carta, y me dijeron, bueno, gracias por solicitar, excelentes tu solicitus, fue al último paso. Lamentablemente no te pudimos escoger este... por (inaudible). Teniendo la... la... educación que había tenido mi mamá, me dijo mi mamá, "*Eh, shake it up,"* me dice, "No... deshazte de eso," me dice, "ponerlo detrás de ti," me dice, "y volver a tratar el próximo año," me dice. "¿Quieres ir?" "Sí." "Pues, volvemos a darle entonces." Sale vale. El próximo año volvi a solicitar, igual. Era... eran las mismas preguntas, entonces tenía que sacar ideas nuevas.
R: (laughs)
01:26:02
I: De este, hablar a gente nueva para la carta de recommendación, Foster me escribió una. Em, así diferentes cosas que tuve que hacer. Eh, hacer ideas innovadoras de leyes en Arizona, eran diferentes cosas.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Y... la mandé, y me escogieron. La segunda vez me escogieron. Y... llegué, era el único residente. Todos eran ciudadanos obviamente allá. Todos eran allá de familias poco... puro... ningún inmigrante llegó, ningún otro inmigrante. Eh... muchos tenían generaciones allá, pero... pero gracias a Dios estuve allí. Eh, de igual manera. No te puedo decir precisamente qué es, pero... pero cuando estábamos allí, dijeron hay que... tenemos que... alguien tiene que dar una... dar un discurso en frente de todos los congresistas de *Hispanic Caucus,* que son, eran como veintidos en ese tiempo. Y mi grupo me escogió a mi. Votaron, y me escogieron a mi para que yo diera el discurso. Entonces, pues fui, di el discurso, y... mi oficina con Ed Pastor, me llevé muy bien con unos... cuando... conocí a Grijalva también. Muy amable, de este, a varias gente conocí. Me fue muy bien, gracias a Dios, en esa *internship.* Esa fue en el verano que entré al colegio comunitario y la universidad. En ese verano. Era el año que me gradué del colegio. Y obviamente, todos los que escogen vienen de... pues, de Stanford,

**Comment:** Interesantemente Justo puede establecer relaciones productivas y positivas aún con personas en quienes reconoce limitaciones, pero que sabe pueden apoyarlo en sus metas

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

Harvard, Yale, eran todos. Y yo era del colegio comunitario. ¿Me entiendes? Ni siquiera de una universidad era. (laughing)

R: (affirmative noises)

I: El único *Community College,* y, pues, casi no había nadie de *State School,* todos eran de *Ivy Leagues*. Entonces... Brown, era una muchacha, muy buena onda, de, Cubana ella, de... y así. Y yo era el único que venía de *Community College.* Pero pues, otra vez, me (inaudible). Pues, regresé y hice todo como estudiante de colegio comunitario. Entonces, hice una solicitud también para la beca de ellos. Y me la dieron también la *scholarship.* O sea, que ahora era... era un *alumn* de... de las... de la *internship.* Y luego me hice *scholar* por... por haber recibido la beca. El único que me faltaba era la *fellowship.* Y dije yo, pues, vamos a darle a eso también. (laughing) ¿Por qué no? Solicité, era un proceso más árduo, necesitaba hacer unas entrevistas por teléfono, así que nada más escogen (inaudible) del país. Y allí sí es más difícil porque se abre para todos. Hay unos que tienen un MBA y adelante.

R: (affirmative noises)

01:28:03

I: O sea, había gente con maestrías que... que lo solicitaba, había gente con... con de este, graduados de *Law School,* habían *nurses,* había... ya... ya es todo el rango. No es... no estás conveniendo con gente que son *undergrads* nada más. Eso se abre a todos.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...con que tengas un... un *bachelor´s.* Entonces, y pues, allí fue cuando... solicité y... de este... entregué otra vez las formas, otra vez las cartas de recomendación, ya eran de más personas. Y todo... todo un proceso más árduo. Y... y pues, me... el último día de escuela, entonces había yo dejado pasar unas ofertas de empleo. Porque en SIFE, es lo que pasa... cuando compites, presentas en frente del CEO de Walgreens, y de compañías grandes.

R: Y te ofrecen trabajo...

I: Entonces... te ofrencen, o sea, no te ofrecen la oportunidad, te ofrecen el empleo. Y más que en la Universidad de Arizona, quedamos tres años seguidos en segundo lugar en todo Estados Unidos de mil quinientos equipos, mil seicientos equipos. Entonces de mil seicientos, ser *final four* tres años seguidos, y verte allí en frente presentando todo el equipo, llama la atención. Entonces se acuerdan, pues.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Entonces tres años después dicen, *Eh, you´ve been here before.* Y luego dices tú, *yeah. What´s your major? Political Science. Ah well, it doesn´t matter.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Me decían, *"It looks like you´re... you´re a leader, right?"* Pues, ¿qué dices? ¿No? Decía yo, "*Well, you know, I... I´m involved."* Es lo que siempre decía yo. Y luego decían, *"Well, you know, come talk to me,"* y luego, "*You have a job opening, we can start you now."* Todos desde Phillip Morris hasta WalMart, eh, nunca sabía qué tanto dinero ganaba la gente de WalMart, la verdad. Y de este... entonces me dicen, *"You know, you can be making so much (papers shuffling, inaudible) a year."* Pero yo sentía que... no era tiempo para mí, para ir

todavía. Yo tenía la mirada puesta en *CHCI* que paga... una broma en comparación (laughs). Ni siquiera era una fracción de lo que me ofrecieron los otros lugares.

R: (affirmative noises, laughing)

01:29:41

I: Pero... yo sentía, dije yo, allí voy. Allí voy. Yo puse... orea (inaudible) y la misma... y me dije, voy a poner disciplina que he aprendido en el deporte, mi familia me apoya en hacer esto, yo puse una oración y sentí paz. Solicité. Y dije yo, bueno, ya hice toda mi parte. Otra vez hablé con Dios. Dije yo, hice toda mi parte. Puse mi cincuenta. Necesito un milagro para ser elegido a esto porque... sí tengo actividades y... tengo... no te voy a decir, pero... pero esta gente con que estoy competiendo es de calibre de Larissa. ¿Me entiendes? *Stanford Honors.* Esa es la gente con la que estaba com... (inaudible) este puesto. Y más que nada que había encontrado un *recruiter* de *CHCI* que conocía por mi *internship* que me decía, Oooh, este año por el *fellowship,* me dijo, *it has some excellent candidates like never before.* Me dice, *the number has increased to the hundreds,* me dice, *and we have... very good candidates.* Lo dijo no más como comentario, pues, me hubiera agüitado y (inaudible, laughing) bien deprimido...

R: (laughs)

I: Yo no soy uno de ellos, dije yo. Pero, pero... le dije, de todas maneras vamos a darle. El último día de la escuela. De este... me dijeron, *We´re going to call you that...* tuve una entrevista, pues la última semana, me dijeron, *we´re going to call you in a week and let you know.* Me... llegaron las tres de la tarde aquí, que eran las seis de la tarde allá en... en D.C., y dije yo, ya. Ya no me escogieron. El día siguiente iba a hablar a los contactos que tenía de Walmart y de... y de... y de Walgreens. y de Radio Shack para decir, *Hey, I´m open, let´s start interviewing.* Y en eso... me llamaron. Y me dijeron, *You were selected as one of the... the ten males,* me dijeron. *Do you accept? "Do I accept?"* le dije yo, (laughing) *"Yeah!"* Y pues, tomé la posición y... allá pasé un año, y... ahora entre estos veinte, volvimos a hacer lo mismo de...

R: ¿Cuál es el... cuál es el título... del... este programa o la posición?

I: ¿Lo que tenía? *Public policy fellow.* Es lo que era. Y entonces lo... lo que es es una buena oportunidad porque ellos tienen, *CHCI,* el... el... *CHC...* ¿cómo lo explico? *Congressional Hispanic Caucus* es el grupo de los congresistas hispanos.

01:31:44

R: Sí. Sí.

I: Ellos formaron el instituto. ¿Verdad?

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Entonces, entonces el instituto es lo que es esto. Entonces tú tienes un chorro de conneciónes con todos departamentos de Washington. Como con alrededor de cuatrocientos treinta diferentes departamentos. O sea, que si tú vas y tú dices, "Quiero una entrevista con el *World Bank."* Entonces, ellos dicen "Okay, *here´s the person."* Entonces ellos te dan el número del contacto, tú hables, *"Hey, I´m*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*a CHCI fellow," basically,* lo que te estoy haciendo, *free labor for you for the next nine months.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Dice, *CHCI* te escogió eso te da una buena reputación, no más tienes que (inaudible) de la universidad, algo tienes bueno para que te hayan escogido entre diez mujeres o diez hombres de Estados Unidos. Tú hables, y ofreces tus servicios a ellos.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y te dicen, *"Well, let's come in for an interview and if you fit our... our personality we're looking for, we'll hire you."* Entonces ya tienes that *foot in the door* de *CHCI.* Entonces, tú puedes escoger *on the hill,* ah, como Larissa, *United Nations, World Bank, Department of State, Department of Defense,* lo que quieres tú puedes escoger. Tienes un número para... *private sector,* inclusive. De lo... de lo que tú quieres. Y... y *CHCI* a mí también me sorprendió que me había escogido y me seguía llegando cosas, porque *CHCI* tiende a ser un poquito más liberal de lo que yo soy. De este...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: En el... en el... en el ámbito político, yo me considero más conservador que (inaudible) en muchas areas.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y lo demonstraba en mi... en mis *essays* que escribía.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Hablaba más de negocio y de... muchos que iban...

R: (affirmative noises)

01:33:07

I: Eran esos como... como... hippiones de Harvard que... que... *they're totally against free enterprise and...* No, es lo peor del mundo y... cosas por el estilo. Yo iba con una perspectiva totalmente diferente.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: O sea, esta gente era bien... muchos traen (inaudible) de Che Guevara y, cosas así muy... muy (inaudible). Y yo, pues, al contrario. Hablábamos de... de la economía de Reagan y la economía del Che Guevara, imagínate, era una... (laughs) perspectiva diferente, Entonces, *CHCI* era más... ellos encajeron más en el prototipo que... que *CHCI* apreciaba y que buscaba. Pero a lo mejor yo era el... el *token* (inaudible), de ser alguien diferente.

R: Sí, específicamente...

I: ...y... y de este...

R: ...porque... porque todos tus... todas tus características, por lo que me dices de que venías de un colegio comunitario, que tenías un *major* que era... eh...

I: Inusual

R: ...inusual, seguramente.

I: (laughs) Sí.

R: Eh, lo curioso es que has sabido combinar distintas... distintas dimensiones de... no nada más de lo académico sino de la vida, ¿no? en...

I: (affirmative noises)

**Comment:** Interesantement, a medida que la consciencia política de Justo crece y él se incorpora más al sistema estadounidense, al parecer se convierte más en una fuente de legitimidad del sistema que le niega las mismas oportunidades a otros como él.

R: ...en... en una sola... que es lo que eres finalmente, ¿no? Es lo que te forma. (inhales) Em, déjame detener esto.
I: Sí.
(recording ends)
01:34:18

## Interview VI – Part II- 00:56:13

R: La segunda parte es sobre tu experiencia, ¿verdad? Y hace un poquito... hace un ratito me estabas platicando de... de algo que te dije que quería que me repitieras, y se me escapó. Em... la primera pregunta es sobre… ¿Cuál es un día típico para ti como... como inmigrante?
I: (affirmative noises)
R: Eh, tú me describías hace rato como te sentías cuando tenías eh, cuando eres inmigrante, pero no tenías tus documentos.
I: (affirmative noises)
R: Em...
I: Sí. Es... mira, la... la batalla cambia de enfoque, pero... pero siempre hay algo. Como te decía, en ese tiempo de ser estudiante... lo que platicamos hace ratito era de que, en el caso de matemáticas, (inaudible) unas diferencias de si estamos en México más que nada, entonces, para no ir a preguntar, yo me enseñaba solo matemáticas... eh, cuando era un exámen de... de historia que para todos era... lo más básico de la historia americana que yo no sabía obviamente, rentaba películas. Y cuando rentaba películas, lo combinaba con mi libro. O sea, (inaudible) por ejemplo, me acuerdo de una película que se llama... *(inaudible) Generals*... se llamaba la película, y que habla de la guerra civil. Y... y entonces había... habla de Jackson y, no
00:01:32
sabía quién era él. No sabía de qué lado estaba, el sur o el norte, entonces le puse atención a la película, fui a leer mi libro. Siempre me trato de educar, pero... siempre he tratado... y no por orgullo, ¿no?, no sé qué es, pero... pero... *being self-sufficient.* Eh... bus... porque había notado que el... *eating, and asking for breaks... or just, wasn't going to cut it for me. I couldn't depend on that. The thing that I could depend on was my hard work, my family support and my faith. And that's what I've been... that's what I've had this whole time,* entonces no... *it went from sometimes an exaggerated term, as in not to ask a teacher something. Now I've changed that perspective, but for a while, that's the way... how I conducted myself. And... and uh...*
R: *You were telling me about how you didn't want to ask questions, or you were reluctant to ask questions when you were an immigrant student.*
I: *Yeah, because that's to show weakness. That shows lack of knowledge. And I already felt... singled out. Not... people didn't... I mean, sometimes maybe they did, but uh... but I wasn't always singled out. But I... I felt that I just had a big thing on my head that said "Immigrant" and... and I didn't. And many times people... like I said, they said... you have something special, that you can go far. And this was back*

**Comment:** Esta capacidad evidentemente no la tienen todos los estudiantes.

**Comment:** What Justo does not understand is that many students from the US that come through the public education system also would not know who Jackson was and what side he supported in the Civil War.

**Comment:** This is an interesting comment. So being an undocumented immigrant has reflected in Justo's education in this way. He didn't want to attract any more attention to himself or show his ignorence. This can be interpreted as another manifestation of the fear of exposing one's self. Perhaps they would discover that he was a "fraud" if he asked too many questions...??? Part of "flying under the radar" then, manifests itself in the classroom in this way. Interesting.

**Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**Dissertation Research**
**Interview VI – Part II – 00:56:13**

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*in high school when I... I didn't see that. All I saw myself as was... was... as an immigrant student that... that was just there. So... so I didn't want to bring more attention to myself. See, that was the whole issue. I mean, when you're here and you're not here legally, the least thing that you want is attention on you. You don't want that. You want to be...* quieres pasar por desapercibido. No quieres atención. Entonces... *that's what I didn't want. But somehow it just kept on happening, either for one reason or another. And, and then when you're at that point of leadership, and then, you're like... well, like, I was.... see, that... this was another thing. They were just coming to me. Sometimes I... I guess you think it... and then some people like... even still, Larissa, ah... sometimes I think I... I don't see myself as other people see me. To the point that, uh... even back then, and sometimes it still happens, um, they have a position, either elected or appointed, or whatever it is, or just... a status with someone.*

00:04:00

*And I tell Larissa, or I tell my mom or someone that they're... back them, like, I don't want to disappoint them. Because they gave me this position, I don't want to... and they would always stop and say, "No, you earned it. See, you earned it. They didn't give it to you. You earned it. And because you earned it, you have the right to ask. Because you earned it, you have the right to do this and that." And even now it happens sometimes. I'm like, well, I really don't want to say that because um, you know I... I was given this opportunity... and they're like, "No, you earned the opportunity." You have every right to be there." It still even happens sometimes to me a little bit. Larissa... Larissa was born here, and she speaks English with, you know, perfect English accent. And I even see her (inaudible) you know, Valley Girl sometimes. She... (in a sing-song voice) "and," you know, and things like that. So she's... she's very cultured in language, and I'm not all the way. I still have a small accent. You can pick it up here and there, and there are things that I'm not fully there yet. You know, like little games like tag. I didn't know what that was until... after high school. Tag, then I found out (inaudible). I didn't know what tag was. You know, the... the Pledge of Allegiance, I learned it in high school. Kids knew it from the... from day one. I didn't know it. So... so things that are so basic for other people, Dr. Seuss. I didn't know what that was. Those books? I didn't know... until college, because I never even read a book like that. Uh, Gilligan's Island, you know? What is that? You know, people grow up with all these things that I didn't know...*

*R: They were part of the culture.*

*I: Yeah, part of their culture. So... different things that I had no idea about. And, so, that's what it was. Just, uh, trying to prove something. That I... that I'm not... that I'm not dumb. That I can do something, and... but sometimes I had to talk to myself like that and say, "Hey, you can do this." And I talk to myself, I do. I'm like, you know, I say, "You can do this. You have to go out there and you have to prove this. To you." And also, um, I'm the oldest. I'm, um... my immediate family, my sisters, and also in the cousins on my dad's side and the cousins on my mom's side. So there's always been this... my little cousins, they look up to me, you know. And when I go to their birthday party, they want to take a picture with*

*00:06:06*

**Comment:** Here, society's negative construct of the immigrant becomes his primary label, superceding all other talents and skills he has... even when others are telling him otherwise.

**Comment:** This goes against the myth that the undocumented immigrants are in the US to take advantage of all the services. If they don't want to be perceived, they won't be lining up to receive any government related services.

**Comment:** Here he is talking about cultural assimilation. The fact that he now knows what these things are speaks to the fact that he has assimilated quite rapidly, and has learned a lot about childhood culture and the nationalism/patriotism taught in U.S. schools.

**Comment:** He has the "oldest child" phenomenon of feeling responsible to and for his family. Also, the idea of extended family can be seen here, since many US families don't often compare themselves so directly to the ages of their cousins or feel any responsibility toward them.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*me, and that's exciting for them. And when I go to their basketball game they go crazy because they... I don't... they just feel that... that they can look up to me, and... and I tell Larissa, you know, where does that come from? I said. And that's not because I... I'm dumb. I do really want to know, and I felt that pressure. Before, it bothered me. I was like, no, no, I don't want to be seen as a...*

*R: As a role model.*

*I: Yeah, as a role model. Don't look at me, you know. Look at someone else. Not me. And... but I found out that was something I couldn't really fight or escape from. It happened, either way. And when I didn't act right, it reflected on my little cousins. They started acting like that. So I couldn't escape from it. So I said, you know, I have to suck it up and live up to it. And I started doing that, and... (inaudible) with college, you know, just letters of recommendation, different things, but... but I always felt that, that thing that it's not only about me. See that? Because by saying, I want to stay quiet, and I want to just do this, it's selfishness. At some point, I learned, and I said, there's a lot of people. Not because they look up to me, but the... I'm not doing this only for my family, but when I make a change, I'm making a change for people who are coming behind me. My family, or non family members, just anyone. I'm making a voice heard. This whole thing with Valerie Frost, it wasn't only about getting my grade back. I wanted my grade back, of course, but it's much bigger than that. Life is much bigger than one's self. So I learned that by, by fighting for what I believe, I wasn't only benefiting me, but I was benefiting things that were around me, or situations that were being changed because of that. When I became student president of the Campus, there were a lot of changes that had to be made on that campus, but I didn't do it to leave a good legacy of my presidency, it was just because we needed this campus to grow into... there were higher goals, but that's the main thing that I learned about leadership. Being a servant, and being a servant of the people who I lead. And... of my family, of my parents, of one's self, of... of... my relationship with anything. So... so that transfers over into the question that you asked about what's a typical day of an*

*00:08:09*

*immigrant. Now...*

*R: You live as an immigrant now. It's just very different from when...*

*I: Yeah.*

*R: ...you first came.*

*I: Yeah, it's very different. It's very different because I... I've changed. And... and sometimes, not always, but for me change is a decision that I had to make. Given the circumstances. I couldn't have stayed the way I was. If I would have stayed the way I was, I... I... I really would not be here today, or I wouldn't be able to do what I'm doing. It was a decision that I had to make, and say hey, I can do this, you know. I... I... there's something good in me. I mean, I have something to offer. And I wasn't thinking about this school, um, I mean, uh, I have high goals. I'm... not even halfway done with what I want to do. Sometimes I look at me and I say, I'm twenty-four, and I'm behind... behind schedule here. I mean, there's a lot of things that I need to do, that I want to do, ah... I want to... and like I said, I... I'm strong heritage. I know where I come from. And because I know where I come from, I have a strong culture, I know where I'm going. And that's why I can feel*

**Comment:** Most, if not all of the interviewees have had this sense...

**Comment:** The sign of a leader... not content with where he is...

**Comment:** This matches what many multicultural education research says... that students are more successful when they have a solid sense of their own self and their own culture.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*comfortable saying... I... I'm a patriot of this country. And I... and I feel like when I feel passionate about our past and I feel passionate about what we're doing and I feel passionate about who I represent. As a matter of fact, when I graduated from high school I tried to join the Marines because I... I rea... I told you, when we left Mexico, I came here to be here.*

*R: To stay here.*

*I: To stay here. And... and to stay here, I need to be part of this country. I can't be... I can't be expecting everyone everywhere I go, every business, every school, which is helpful, but I, see, the main thing I think that helped me was, um... how do I say this? If anyone... demands a lot from me, it's myself. I... I don't expect people at a restaurant, or people... I didn't expect that, but at restaurants or at school, to speak Spanish. I took it upon myself to be able to communicate with them in English. And my parents... and I had the privilege of learning English in Mexico. My parents didn't. Sometimes my mom would be like,* "Deben de tener un menu en español aquí. Aquí..." y le digo, "Mamá. Aprende inglés." *You know, it's fine when you're first getting here, but we've been here for ten years. Twelve years now, you know? They'd start picking things up, you know? My dad went back to school, he's at the community college now, you know, learning English, and doing this and that. They're taking turns between my mom and him so they're not both at school at the same time. And that's the... that is the immigrant spirit. It's not... it's not what a lot of people think, that oh, they just want to come here and change everything to Spanish and just put everything in Spanish. It's helpful, yes, but I never expected*

*00:10:55*

*breaks. I never expected... and I got a lot of them. You know, don't get me wrong. I'm not saying that I became who I am now, or who I'm going to become by myself. Impossible. You can't do that. What I'm saying is that I never... expected to get somewhere because I was Mexican. I never expected to get somewhere because I was Hispanic. Or to get somewhere because I spoke Spanish. I always said I need to learn English. And uh... it was never... in my history class, I never raised my hand and said, "Well, you know, I just got here.* ***This is my first year, seventh grade****. I don't know this history." No, I went home and I read some more. What kids already learned in school. I... I...*

*R:* Perdón.

*I:* (affirmative noises)

*R:* Y estás diciendo al mismo tiempo algo muy fascinante, porque... porque a la vez te sientes orgulloso de tu herencia mexicana...

*I:* Sí.

*R:* Y a la vez te sientes orgulloso de ser parte de este país, y de ser ciudadano de...

*I:* Sí.

*R:* ...de este país. Eh... que es una... eh... es una combinación muy interesante, porque... porque hay gente que no sabe hacer esa... ese balance, ¿verdad?

*I:* Sí. Es hay algo muy bueno de los dos culturas. Nuestra gente es trabajadora. Nuestra gente es... es inteligente. Ser mexicano es un orgullo. No... yo nunca, nunca me avorgonzaría de ella. Nunca ... nunca... cuando me preguntan de dónde eres, nunca digo Arizona. Siempre digo, ***I was born in Sonora, México. And I moved to Arizona when I was twelve.*** *And that... that's where I've resided the rest*

**Comment:** I couldn't agree more.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*of my life. That... that, you know, since then. But I... I mean, I am from México. I mean, there's no question about that. Whose your family? The Caravilla family. Whose your dad? Justo and Gemma (with a Spanish accent), not Justo and Gemma (with an English accent). You know? And people have different things. People... like I said, change their names, and that's fine. And some people see that as bad. Some people see what I'm doing as bad, as saying, you're... when we took the oath of citizenship, you know, I am willing to bear arms for this nation if we are under attack. I am willing to do that. I said that with all*

*00:12:54*

*my heart. Some people are like, "How could you do that? What if Mexico attacks? What if... which side would you join?" You know? All these things. And some people see my perspective, from being, well, you're not true to your people. Some people see (inaudible) as not being true to your people. It doesn't matter. I think it's an individual... effort to become part of this nation. And mine has been so, and that's why I have goals to be in government, and that's why I have goals to improve... not only the life for Hispanics here in the city, or in Arizona, or in the U.S., but I just... I can contribute something more than just for Hispanics. See, I mean, we're fourteen, fifteen percent of the population now, maybe. What are we, uh, in the nation. Do you know?*

*R: In the nation? Fourteen.*

*I: Fourteen. See, if we focus on that, that's only fourteen percent. I believe in... and I'm not being (inaudible) or anything, I'm just... we have... Mexican Americans have, and this is you and me, the intelligence to have ideas for the whole nation. To have... new, innovative ways of thinking and running government. For the whole nation, not only focusing on Hispanic issues. We can change the Social Security system. We can change the war issue. We can change national security. We... we are smart enough to do that. And that's why we have people in high office like Alberto Gonzalez and other high officials in government. You may not agree or disagree with them on a lot of issues. I... I disagree and agree on some as well. But the thing is that we... this is what we're supposed to be because we are a smart people that we can... we can do all that. See, we can do all that. Raúl Castro from... you know, the government here in Arizona. He... he...*

*R:* Era de Magdalena.

*I: Yeah,* era de Magdalena, y luego se fue a Douglass, y luego, vino aquí, o sea... de este... *President, uh... who was it? Johnson pulled him up to be ambassador, I mean, this is a guy who... who made it. And I wrote about him. Why? Because he came here when he was twelve, just like me. And... and he started getting involved, just like me... now his struggles were a lot harder than mine. Um, he tried joining... as a teacher, and he was rejected because of being... being from Mexican descent. Uh, and... by the board in Douglass, I*

*00:15:02*

*think. And he had it much harder. But see, he made it. And... and.. when you look at people like that, how did they make it? By not giving up. By not asking for breaks, but by going out there and pursuing what they want to pursue. And by asking... by... by... by taking breaks, I don't want this to go out of content. We all need help, and we all need a hand. And... and things like, uh, like Hispanic scholarships, for*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*example. I was a recipient of those. Things like Affirmative Action, what you were saying. Those are things that... that help people. See? And those are out there to help people and to help us get there. And... uh, but what I'm saying is... those... those things, for me, the way I saw them were... were... extra blessings. But I wasn't looking at those things to get me somewhere. See, I was applying for the Hispanic scholarship just like I was for the Phi Beta Kappa. I don't know how many Hispanics got that that were not in Phi Beta Kappa. But I applied for that, 'cuz I said, I got it into my head, I said, "Hey... I deserve that. I can get that." And then...*
el que estaban en las colegiaturas... las becas mexi... eh, hispanas... pero nunca mi visión fue puras becas hispanas. Es que puedo llegar... dije, por las oportunidades que hay allá. Y porque tenemos nuestra gente potencial. Es lo que les digo a mis hermanas. Olvídate de... de... me van a dejar entrar porque... necetitan alguién que habla español. Te van a dejar entrar porque tú eres tú. Porque tú tienes habilidades especiales. No te encajones en el solamente... soy hispana y por eso voy a llegar a lugares. Es porque es inteligente. Es porque tú puedes.

R: Porque además eso hace que otros piensen así. ¿Verdad?

I: Sí.

R: Que llegas a esos lugares... es es una de las críticas a... a... a todo el sistema de acción afirmativa, ¿no? De que... em... la gente, nunca sabes si llegaste allí porque... porque fue tu trabajo, o porque... o porque de veras, eh, porque te promovieron porque...

I: Te prom... pe... pero sabes, hay gente que dice, esa es una crítica ahora... ahora yo soy... yo soy... en la acción afirmativa, no... no estoy completamente a favor y tampoco estoy completamente en contra. Yo le... le veo los puntos positivos y le veo los puntos también más críticos. Me pregunta un muchacho, "yo no quiero que me escogen por ser hispano. Yo no quiero llegar a algún lugar y que... y yo tener que vivir conmigo mismo decir, "soy hispano." Compa... le dije, "Si te gradúas de Harvard de leyes, porque fuiste hispano... no. Te graduaste... o sea... estás graduado. Vas a encontrar un trabajo después de eso."

00:17:37

R: (affirmative noises)

I: No me digas que vas a estar traumado en tu casa, ganando cuatrocientos mil al año, sin poder dormir en la noche porque te escogieron por ser hispano. No me vengas con ese cuento. ¿Me entiendes? Y además, el llegar es lo más fácil. El graduarte es lo difícil.

R: Así es.

I: El terminar, o sea. Y que te acceptan en la escuela de leyes de Stanford o Harvard, (inaudible), tuviste un buen día en tu LSAT. Tuviste buen... o sea, que... que... hay (inaudible) de gente extremadamente inteligente. *They're not good test takers.* En ese tipo de pruebas. ¿Y qué tal esa persona no entra? Eso no tiene nada que ver. ¿Terminaste la escuela? Sí. Entonces, lo mereces estar allí.

R: Así es.

I: No hay.. no hay... critíca a los que llegaron y se terminan saliendo por drogas. Bueno, pues ¿qué onda? Y ese, entró no más por lo que se hizo y salió.

R: (affirmative noises)

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: Pero no me vengas a criticar a los que terminaron la escuela. Y terminaron número uno. Y luego, "*Yeah, but he got through with Affirmative Action.*" *Affirmative Action didn't get him through those three years of law school. Affirmative Action didn't get him that first place. It didn't get him Summa Cum Laude. I got that. Through my effort, and through my family's support and all this stuff. So... see, Affirmative Action,* para mí no... dicen... um... ¿Cómo es la palabra? Ni en inglés ni en español no me la sé... no... no... nom... ¿*denigrate* es una palabra? Como si...

R: Sí.

I: *It doesn't denigrate anyone. It doesn't make you less of a person.* Una muchacha en las... en el *fell...* en el *internship* que fui, ella era de Harvard, y dijo, *I never checked the box.* Y era su orgullo that *she never checked the box. I'm like, so what? You checked the box, you didn't check the box. How far are you in your studies? You didn't check it or not, I mean, where are you at now? Are you getting Fs? Are you getting As? It doesn't matter. If you checked the box and you're getting A's, it's a lot better than you not checking the box and getting F's, you know.*

R: (affirmative noises)

00:19:09

I: Entonces... eso es mi pensamiento en *Affirmative Action* y a lo que yo me refiero, como te digo, *getting breaks,* es lo que me refiero. No me refiero a ayuda. Todos necesitamos ayuda. Pero me refiero a que, como tú no estás esperando eso, y te viene, *it's just a boost. But once you get that, you can't be expecting to get another one. You just keep working hard. You keep working hard, you keep at it, you keep at it, and then, you're going to be spotted. Someone's going to see that effort. So if you never get a break, and then you never take it...*

R: *And there are people who have all the help and they never use it.*

I: *Yeah, exactly.* Esa es otra. Esa es otra. ¿Me entiendes?

R: Absolutamente.

I: Entonces, eso es... eso es.

R: ¿Cómo te sientes como inmigrante ahora? ¿Todavía eres muy consciente de que eres un inmigrante? Em... ¿Te siente de alguna manera... como parte de una... de... de una communidad muy concreta de inmigrantes? ¿Cómo... qué significa para ti?

I: Es buena pregunta, mira. Mm... Yo lo... no estoy muy cerca de cómo me sentía antes, obviamente. Yo me siento en confianza. Em... llegué al punto... en colegio, que a veces, llegué a un elevador, y era puros... puros anglos... te puedo decir, y al punto de subir me sentía como... medio inseguro. (inaudible) y... le cuento esto a personas y me dicen, "¿En serio?" (inaudible) así. No por ser odioso, porque cualquiér persona se puede sentir intimidada con puros anglos, no es como me hacían caras, pero yo decía como que, y más cuando así era en un elevador. *How is a Mexican going to go stop that elevator and make it late? You know,* cosas así que nada más te vienen a la mente. Ya no. Ya no tanto así. Y... y me siento una comodidad mucho más... porque verdaderamente soy *proud to be an American. American* no es el término completamente correcto para la gente nacida en Estados Unidos. Pero... me siento un Estadounidense. Me siento una persona de aquí, me siento parte de la comunidad. A pesar de... de los ejemplos negativos que he mencionado, por cada negativo han habido cien positivos de este país. Me ha dado oportunidades que nunca hubiera tenido en

**Comment:** Otro ejemplo de las fronteras invisibles que establecen las estructuras sociales.

**Comment:** So this is the internalized racism... he felt himself a subclass before getting his documents. But now, with documents, he feels completely different... that he has every right to be where he is and impacting the society.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

00:21:19
México. Me ha dado... amistades increíbles. Cada programa, ahora estoy comprometido. Eso es... es totalmente una bendición de haberme venido. Y por eso yo no dudar de defender este país si... si yo necesito hacerlo. Y traté de hacerlo, pero para los *Marines* necesitas ser ciudadano. Para el *Army* sí podía, sino que no quise ir al *Army*. Yo quería ir al *Marines*. Quería estar en el mero frente, tirando balazos. Pero pues, no se pudo hacer. Entonces... ni idea que me iba a meter a la guerra en ese tiempo, quién sabe qué hubiera pensado si hubiera salido, ¿no? Era en dos mil eso.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: O sea, que... yo... yo estaba dispuesto. Yo nada más quería. Pero... pero ahora, yo me siento... me siento parte. Me siento parte de aquí. Pero (inaudible) con mi primo, y... mi primo tiene once años, y... la llevé al cine a ver una película afroamericana porque ellas me gustan mucho y él... admira lo afroamericano. Entonces, el cine estaba... pues, (inaudible), yo entraba por aquí, y él se metió debajo del cordón y hubo una señora por aquí. Y tal que, como piensa, se metió, me imagino, porque se metió en frente de ella aunque llegó antes que ella.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: En fin, llega a presentar la señora, y me dijo mi primo, "Vente para acá," no más (inaudible) la señora. Y la señora empezó enojada, enojada... era una señora grande, güera. Con tatuajes, era ese tipo de señora. Y empezó a... a decir, "*These people cut in front of me.*" Y luego empezó con un vocabulario horrible de malas palabras. Que (inaudible) no repitir. *F-in' this, F-in' that,* hubiera traido una camiseta, una (inaudible) rosa, a... *"This little faggot,"* empezó decir, y... empezó decir un chorro de malas palabras, entonces agarró mi ojo... mi oído y dije yo, "Está hablando de nosotros," dije yo. Entonces mi primo estaba platicando, "Nya, nya, nya..." estaba hablando de la película, y... yo estaba tratando de escucharlo a él, y la señora al mismo tiempo. Entonces la señora empezó decir, *"This F-in' wetback..."* se empezó... empezó usar más palabras, y... palabras derogativas de... de idioma español y de la raza, y... y entonces en ese momento, la verdad, no te puedo decir qué sentí. Eso fue reciente, eso fue en el

00:23:24
verano. Eso fue en el verano, y entonces... eh... *"Can't even speak English."* Y quién sabe que... entonces volteé y de... y entonces ella me quedé viendo como... no... no buscando el pleito, pero... nomás, *I mean, I'm listening to you here.* Y luego... luego me dice, "*That's right, I'm talking to you.*" Y me dice, *"You know, he cut in front of me,"* me dijo. Y yo le dije, *"Oh, he cut in front of you?"* Y luego, me dijo, "*Yeah, he did.*" Y le dije yo, "*Words as simple as you to ask us to move behind you, and we can do that,*" le dije. *"There's no reason to..."*

R: *Be insulting...*

*I: Yeah, to be offensive,"* le dije. Y en ese momento tenía que... podía hacer tres cosas. Podía una... *live up to her expectation of... of uh, rough Mexican and just cuss her out and go off on that. I could have really intellectually insulted here,* porque se notaba que no tenía esa educación. Yo podía haber entrado haberle dicho, "*Are you going to speak to me about uneducated people? When I bet you didn't finish high school.*" Yo podía haberla... tratado de ponerme, a ofenderla de ese nivel. Pero

**Comment:** Justo is completely contradicting Huntington here. He is still connected to his Mexican roots and very proud of them (which Huntington does not like). He still speaks Spanish and appears to see that as an advantage (Huntington would also cringe here). But... Justo is also very proud of being an American and is extremely patriotic in this sense. His energy, enthusiasm and high aims are the type of things the U.S. wants to attract. Now... we can also look at education and socioeconomic class and realize that Justo is probably one of the "skilled" immigrants that would be given priority in the new immigration proposal being considered in the Senate and the House... but it is interesting to note that he originally came here without documents, and so at the same time is one of the ones who would not even be considered by the most extreme anti-undocumented-immigrant factions. Luckily for Justo, his documents are secure at this point.

**Comment:** One wonders where he got this idea. High school recruiters, maybe? And he was thinking rather innocently, wanting to go into the Marines... the "best of the best", but not the Army. Not considering that he might really face a combat situation.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

dije, dije, no, no, no dije. En ese momento tomé la decisión y dije yo, "Voy a actuar como ella no se espera que... uno actue." Como ella está esperando que nos enojemos. Y le dije, *"All you have to ask... all you have to say is just ask us to move behind you, and we will do that with no problem,"* le dije. *"But there is no reason to offend anyone."* Y luego, *"Well, this F-in' kid..."* quién sabe que y no sé que... y la dejé pasar. Y nos fuimos detrás de ella. Y luego llegó su esposo, y se metió. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces ya me empezó a brincar ahora el asiento mío. Entonces le dije yo... le dije yo, "Oh," le dije, "*Did he cut in front of us?"* le dije a la señora. Y luego dice (imitating a deep voice), "*What, you got a problem?"* Y empezó a buscar pretextos a la señora allí. Y dije yo, y le dije, "*No, I don't have a problem,"* le dije. (imitating a deep voice) *"That's what I thought,"* me dice el señor. Se volteó. Entonces tenía que dar el ejemplo a mi primo. Tenía que actuarme en frente a todas las personas que estaban allí...

*R:* (affirmative noises)

*I:* ...y... y no fue fácil. Pero sabes que, por lo que te digo de ese incidente, *for at least that whole day, I was self... self... what's the word?*

*R: Self aware...*

*00:25:33*

*I: Self conscious of my race. I was self conscious of my... my... my status. I wasn't a citizen of the day, I mean, I just became a citizen three months ago. I wasn't a citizen this... in the summer. But that didn't make any difference. I just felt... I just felt different. I felt singled out. Even though this person who has no... status, no authority, no nothing. It was just an argument from an... from an ignorant individual.* ***Because that's racism. It's ignorance****. The... being black doesn't make you a certain way, being brown doesn't make you a certain way. Yes, we have cultures, we have... tendencies to do things that... mean, I mean, people say, people get offended, "Do all Mexicans eat beans?" Well, no; I do. I mean, I don't... you know... (laughs) Is that a stereotype? No, it's more of a truth than a stereotype. Yeah, I eat beans. You know, most people do (laughing). What's the insult in that? I mean, there's tendencies. But I felt singled out. I felt that I was... that I... I felt back where I was before. For at least a day. I didn't share this with anyone. With anyone. I was embarrassed of sharing it. Embarrassed of... of being humiliated the way I was. I didn't do anything about it. Maybe I should have done something then...*

**Comment:** Interesting that Justo himself uses these categories (race & status).

*R:* (affirmative noises)

*I: I don't know. So I told Larissa maybe three months after it happened. I said, you know, this happened to me and, and I... and she said, "How do you feel?" And I said, "I feel fine now, but at the moment, after watching..." you know, we had some seats in the middle of the row...*

*R:* (affirmative noises)

*I: I felt kind of embarrassed to... asking people to move when I was getting there. Just diff... little things like that started coming back to me. And I had to take control and say, "Hey... you need to calm down. You belong here. You've earned your right to be here. You're as part of this as she is and as everybody in this theater... are, (sic) I mean, you're not better than them, you're not worse than them. You're just here because you earned it." So... it was... it was tough. I mean, so sometimes it still*

**Comment:** Even after years of "legal" residency in the US, Justo has a hard time with his sense of belonging.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*happens. I haven't felt any discrimination lately, but that... but it brought me back a little bit when that happened.*

R: *So you... you've... and you say you haven't felt it lately, which means you've experienced it in different ways, I'm assuming...*

I: (affirmative noises)

R: *...throughout your... your experience here. And it happens, obviously in many... in many ways. Some of them are more subtle, some of them are...*

I: (affirmative noises)

R: *...more overt, like this one you're... just told me.*

*00:27:54*

I: *Yeah.*

R: *Um, can you think of situations where you experienced it in a more subtle way where it is not maybe so obvious?*

I: *Yeah...*

R: *...but it's...*

I: *It all depends on... on what perspective you give things. Like I said, um... like my friend's mom. You know, she would say, "Hey Justo, do you like beans?" You know, some people would say, "Oh my god," you know. Is it because I'm brown? Is that why you're asking? No, I'm like, it's... you see, I... I...*

R: *In other words, some people feel discriminated even when they're not being discriminated... (laughs)*

I: *Yeah, so I'm not looking for things to be... I'm not looking to say, "Oh, that's discrimination right there. Oh, I can... I can give an example. I could write a book off this, you know..."*

R: *(laughs)*

I: *No, I'm not... I'm not looking for those things. They happen. And some people, they're just ignorant. They... and maybe they're just trying to be funny. Maybe it's genuinely they just try to speak Spanish, but whenever you get someone and they're like, (with an English accent)* "¡Hola señor!" *You know, you're like, "Hey, how are you?" Some people say, oh, I speak English. You don't need to speak to me in Spanish. I speak English perfectly fine. And the other person's like, "Well I... I didn't really mean..." Some people do it in a bad way, some people don't, but I'm not looking for those... for those things. So yes, that happens a lot. Um... in stores, you know, people are like, uh...* (with an English accent) "Oh, gracias," *or they give me the amount in Spanish... I'm like, oh, they're trying to speak Spanish. And... and I don't take the bad things in that. And like I said, when they were... when this lady asked me, um... "Hey Justo, so do you like beans?" And I'm like, "Yeah, I do actually." You know, I'm not going to get offended and say, "Why are you saying that? No, I don't eat beans." You know? Or "Yes I do, but why are you saying that? Yeah, I like beans." Do most Mexicans like beans? Well, probably! So no, I don't take offense in*

*00:29:34*

*that. So... specific examples, like, besides this Valerie Frost thing, and this lady at the theater, um, of course in high school, and you know when you're playing football, big insults come in, but... you don't really think of them that way. Um, I*

**Comment:** Perspective is everything.

**Comment:** So, some blatant examples of racism and discrimination are easily recognized by Justo, but institutionalized racism is not in his radar.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*mean, when we first moved here, um... uh, I was put in bilingual classes right away without even being asked if I spoke English.*

*R:* (affirmative noises)

*I: I proved throughout the year that I was able to, and so in the eighth grade I got jumped into the regular classes. So... so no, I... I... other situations, um, no. Not... not really. There are things that... people look at you certain ways, and you feel it sometimes. But I decided to not let it affect me at the scale that it used to before. So I don't even take offense in that. I just treat it as plain ignorance of those people, and say, they don't even know. You know? They don't even understand. They assume you didn't go to school, and things like that. For some kids in high school, they say, uh, "Are you going to school?" For other kids it's like, "Which school are you going to?" You know, I got that a lot. It's like, "So Justo, are you going to school?" Well, that's when you're like... when you say yes, and even know which one you're going to. Like when I was a freshman, they asked all these kids, "Where are you going to school?" and "Where you going to school?" And I was like, "I'm going to Cross." You know, like Cross High School. That's what I was thinking. They were thinking college. I didn't know what Stanford was. I had a jacket of Stanford when I was in eighth grade, and then when I graduated from Middle School, I thought I couldn't wear it anymore because I was going to be wearing it at a high school, and it was the wrong high school. I didn't even know what Stanford was! And... all these kids grow up knowing what college they want to go to because their parents went to some other... so for me the question was, "Are you going to school?" And if I said no, then they're like, "Okay." And if I said yes, they would be like, "Which one?" And I didn't know which one. And I said, "Maybe." And they're like, "So why... why don't you know?" So it was a hard question when you're growing up. And for other kids, it's like, "Hey, which one are you going to?" "Oh, I'm going to this one my parent went to. I'm going to the U of A. I'm going to whatever."*

*R:* (affirmative noises)

*00:31:38*

*I: So... different little questions like that. And now that I think back, and... and... people take it far. I went to a retreat where they were talking about all these different "isms," you know? The... the... racism, and all these different "isms." But it got to the point where they were talking about... Have your parents ever told you what you have to do? And I said, "yeah." And they're like, "That's adultism right there." And I'm like, "Seriously." "That's adultism." "Have you ever... have you ever had to sit at a different table at Thanksgiving when you were young, and the adults sat a one table? And the kids sat at a small table? Yeah, that's adultism right there."*

*R:* (laughing)

*I: I'm like, "What? Are you kidding me?" And... and... so some people take it really far. Brotherism, I mean, all these "isms" that they were... Where do those come from, you know? Yes, my parents tell me what to do. They... they spanked me a couple of times too when I was young. I mean, what's it... (laughing)*

*R: (laughing)*

**Comment:** So an assumption was made about Justo just because he came from Mexico.

*I: ...you know? So anyway, that's another story. But yeah, people look for different things to call "isms" and to feel... victimized. And that's... that's something that my parents never allowed me to do.*
R: (affirmative noises)
*I: I mean, I would come home and I would be like... you know, "What's wrong?" "I... I... don't get the plays." "Are you not fast enough? Or are you not getting the plays? 'Cuz if you're not fast enough, you can start working on your speed. And if you're not getting the plays, you need to start studying the plays a little more. There's always something you can do. Nothing... nothing is ever impossible. And don't feel... the victim mentality is not going to get you anywhere," my dad used to say. When I have to work hard, I work hard. When I have to work smart, I work smart. But you always work. There's never: (sighs), there's nothing to do here. You know? Obviously there's something you can do. You know,* mi mamá, cuando nos íbamos a ir a algún lugar, *and we were late or something, she would always be doing something...* siempre decía, "siempre hay algo que hacer." Si es recoger aquí, si es hacer esto... si es trabajar allá. Si tú estás haciendo algo, y te estoy esperando, no me voy a sentar. *They... my parents never just wait.* Siempre están haciendo algo. Entonces aprendes esa ética de trabajo, y decir, siempre hay algo que hacer. Siempre hay algo

00:33:33

que hacer. Entonces, mi vida típica de inmigrante es siempre... viendo que es estar ocupado. Siempre que... por eso me gusta estar activo. Porque... porque nece... ne... es como crecí. Es como eran mis papás. En diferente ámbito. Pero ellos sacrificaron, era trabajar duro hasta el día de hoy todavía...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: ...para que yo pueda hacer esto. Entonces mis metas cambian. Mi meta es... es... es... entre yo, más grande estoy, dar más a mis papás. Porque ellos no tuvieron oportunidad de ahorrar para su retiro. (inaudible) no han arrado para su retiro. Tienen unos cuantos bonos aquí que allá, que (inaudible) comprar bonos aquí, con el dinero que mi papá recibió extra de... de un... 401K de su trabajo, ahora sí lo pudiera haber invertido un poquito, pero no tienen ellos para retirar. Entonces, ellos hicieron el sacrificio por mí, mi meta es... es... (inaudible) poderlos... poder decir a ellos que no se tienen que preocupar por lo económico. Entonces... porque eso es lo que debemos a ellos. Ellos sacrificaron realmente por nosotros al... darnos cada pedazo de pan y dinero para nosotros. Las navidades las pasamos... ¿sabes de estos trajesitos que vienen juntos... de... de... para niños, con shorts, con la camisetita y el abrigo?
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Pues, mis apás, lo que hacían, los separaban en tres, y dirán a mis hermanos tres diferentes regalos para que se veían más regalos, pero era lo mismo. Era un trajecito. ¿Me entiendes? Pero así, así nos daban porque así crecíamos. Siempre era... nunca va a comer uno más que otro. Si hay uno, nos repartimos entre todos, ¿no?
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Entonces, entonces, es lo que aprendí de mis papás. Y... y... por eso, siempre hay una manera mejor que hacer las cosas. Me decía mi mamá, "¿Sacaste B? Bien.

**Comment:** Definitivamente la fuerte ética de trabajo del inmigrante es evidente en la narrative de Justo y del resto de los entrevistados. Es algo que todos, sin excepción, tienen en común.

Saca A en el próximo. ¿Sacaste 93? Bien. ¿Cómo que si pasas al 96?" Y nunca era ningún conformismo de que, "No, no eres nada. ¿Una 93? ¿Qué te pasa? (exhaling) Tah..." Que yo estaba... No. Sino era... era de que, "*There's always room for improvement. There's always room for improvement. You got a... you got a hundred percent on the test? Great! How's your behavior in class? I'm going to talk to your teacher, see how you're doing.*" Siempre había algo. Siembre había un área en dónde podías mejorar. Y ese perfeccionismo es... lo... lo heredé de mis papás, no tanto como debería, más que nada en la limpieza, pero... pero, pues...

00:35:41

R: (laughs)
I: Trato. (laughs)
R: Tenemos algunas cosas en común, Justo.
I: ¿Sí?
R: Sí, Sí. Pero es... es tu historia esta. A ver, em... ¿Cuáles son, entonces tus... tus retos, em, ahora que has... em... de alguna manera caminado desde donde empezaste hasta donde estás ahorita? Y has tenido todas estas... experiencias, ya eres ciudadano, eh... sigues siendo inmigrante...
I: (affirmative noises)
R: ...eh, pero obviamente bajo circunstancias muy diferentes que... ¿Cuáles son tus retos ahora?
I: (begins speaking, inaudible)
R: (speaking over) En tu vida diaria...
I: (affirmative noises)
R: ...es decir... eh, un día cualquiera, ¿cuáles son tus....?
I: ¿Mis retos? Mis retos son... siempre... yo tengo metas en mi vida de un año, cinco, y al largo plazo. Pero, tanto las de un año como las de cinco y como las de un año se llegue día a día con ellos. Entonces me concentro siempre en el día de hoy. Hoy es el mejor día que voy a vivir. Hoy es el... hoy, va a ser el día más (inaudible) que había en toda mi vida porque ningún día va a ser mejor que hoy. Y pasado mañana va a ser mejor que mañana. Ayer fue el último día que pasé como lo pasé. No quiero volver a pasar por allí. Yo necesito, este día, saber más. Siempre mi *coach,* él fue americano, siempre decía mi *coach* decía, *"You always get better. Or you get worse. You never stay the same on the practice field. Today you guys got worse. So I need you to work twice as hard tomorrow."* Decía. *"Today you guys got better. So that's good for you. Tomorrow we need to get even better than today. But you never stay the same,"* decía. *"You either come to practice and you get better or you get worse, you never stay the same."*
R: *So you extrapolate those ideas...*

00:37:28

I: *Yeah, so... so now, I look at my... and I say, this day I... I'm not going to stay the same. I either... I either go back to tomorrow, or start thinking about... I mean, go back to yesterday or start thinking about tomorrow, see what I'm going to do. See what I can... how I can... how can I conquer this day?*
R: (affirmative noises)
I: *Today's a challenge. How can I conquer this day? And it's not a... oh, today's a Sunday, let's just relax. It's Saturday... no, no, no. I still go play football at the*

**Comment:** Capacidad de visualizar metas de corto, mediano y largo plazo.

*park. I'm the best out there on the field. Whenever I... I have a meeting, I have an interview, and I dress the best that I can do. I mean, things... I always challenge myself. And that's why... and I do that because... the more that I walk in my life, with... with my family, with my value that I learned in sport, and most importantly, with God, I... **I have discovered that there are really... no limits. I mean you can... you can achieve what you... set your mind to achieve.** And... and, uh, just a quick story um, ah, um... when I was in DC, I learned about a program called Patriot Academy. And in this program, it's uh... it's uh... very conservative, uh, Texas institute for four days, where you go and you play the role of a congressman.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *So you go, and it's like a mock thing of Congress.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *But...* son puros güeros, americanos, ricos. Es todo lo que son. Y es... *And they have all these congressmen and they have, uh... uh... a speaker of the house, and they have, uh, Lieutenant Governor, whose like the vice governor, and they have the governor.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *Those are the three high positions. And everybody who gets selected to go to this institute is automatically a congressman. Once you're in there being a congressman, you get to run for the three positions for the next year.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *So most people do. They get... they select... they're selected for the program, they go for a year, so they... they play the role of being a congressman. The following year, they... they ah, they get nominated for a committee chair, so that's two years. So then, the following year, that they've already been a congressman and a chair, they run for office for the next year. So by the fourth year they end up, maybe, if they win, Lieutenant Governor, Speaker or Governor. And, uh... and the Governor the year that I went was uh, his dad was president of the Republican Party in Texas.*

R: *Yeah?*

00:39:41

I: *So you... you... you... you're speaking with that caliber of kids. But um, but I like that... I saw it, and I said, you know? I'm going to apply. I'm going to apply to go. You know? Why not? You know, I might bring in new ideas, first Mexican to ever go... to ever apply, even. I don't know if to apply, but to ever try to go.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *So... I applied, and uh, I was missing some stuff, so I... one letter of recommendation, I said, I'll get it to you in a day or two. They wrote me back and they said, "We're impressed with your application, just... you're selected. Just come here, and you can be a Congressmen for the next... for this summer." That's great! So, I get the e-mail, and inviting everyone, they say, "Hey, whoever wants to run for office, you have Speaker of the House, Lieutenant Governor, and Governor. You know, you can run for anything" and I said, really? I can run for anything. I said, well, I like... what about Governor? You know? (laughing) I said, why not the highest? And remember, uh, this is from Texas and uh... probably two thirds of them are from Texas. The other one-third are from other states.*

R: (affirmative noises)

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

I: *So I'm from out of state, the first Hispanic to go, and this is my first year. And most people run for that office their third year to be able to execute the office their fourth year. The kids that normally go. The... the... white rich kids from Texas. So I'm totally out of the... I mean, I'm not... anything near what they... what they usually get. So, so I... I start exploring the idea and I was like, nah, nah, nah, nah. Well, yeah. I was like, nah... Then Larissa was like why not? You know? Like, go for it! And I said, well... okay. So then the governor writes an e-mail, and he says, "Hey everyone," you know, very politically correct, "and if you have any questions on running for office, let me know..." So I said, I'm gonna' call this guy. So I call him up and I say, "Hey, this is Justo." And he's like, "Who?" I'm like, "Justo, from the Academy." "Justo, where you from?" And I'm like, "Arizona." "Oh, Arizona. Okay." And he says, "What's your last name?" And I said, "Caravilla." "Caravilla, huh?" "Yeah." "Okay, so how do you get Justo and Caravilla together? Uh, I mean...?" So I explained that my dad is part Italian and my mom is Mexican, and he was like, "Oh, okay, okay..." And I said, "Well, I have questions about running for office." And he says, "Really? What are you interested in?" And I said "Well," (laughs) I was kind*

00:41:47

*of afraid, I said, "Governor." He just stayed quiet, and said, "Governor?" He said, "Is this your first year?" He said. "Yeah," I said. "Yeah." And he said, "Are you out of state?" He said, "Yeah." I... I said, "Yeah." And he said, "Well, I gotta' tell you something. It's gonna' be tough." He said, "I recommend that you go and just... you know, just enjoy the ride. Just go, and learn from other people and..." but he said, "I gotta' tell you something. The girl whose running for governor, she's um... she's a five-year veteran of the program, uh, she's got most of the people's support. She's... she's expected to just walk in the election and take it. And... because, uh, you're there for four days, so you basically campaign for three days and then... or four days, and then on the fourth day you give a speech, and then people vote. The same people in the Academy. The... the other congressmen." And... uh, and he said, "And, you know, she's a tough... she's going to be tough to beat. I mean, not even someone in the Academy can beat her. Even..." he says, "no offense, but even less a... a... someone from out of state and a rookie." He almost... he... all he was missing to say was like, and someone Mexican, you know? So he said, "I recommend you, you know, run for something if you want, you know, you can run for chair for next year, or even speaker or ah..." he said, "but definitely not governor or anything higher than that because you... you probably won't make it." So I was like, aw, bummer. I got bummed out. I said, that sucks. I said, "Oh, okay, well thank you for your help." And hung up and... told Larissa, and she's like, "Who told you (inaudible) to call this guy?" And I said, "I don't know, I just... (inaudible)." And she says, "No, don't listen to him. You know, you got to go for it." And I said, "Well, I have no chance." And then... and then, uh, I said, well, should I do it? Is it in my... in my, like divine plan to run for this...*

R: *(laughing)*

I: *... you know, or should I, like, what should I do? And then I always ask myself the tough questions. I said, all right, Justo, sit down. So I say, "You don't know if it's God's plan for you to run for this office thing," I said. "Would you feel the same*

*way and same confusion if you knew you were going to win? Or if this was in your state? So all the issues we have... handle are Texas issues. Not... they're not national issues that you handle in Texas. You have to know state... uh, Texas law and Texas constitution and all that kind of stuff." And I said, "Justo, if this was in Arizona, on your ground, in the city, and you're expected to win, would you have doubts about going?" And I said, "No." So then I told myself, "Then what are you doing? Are you not going to take this challenge? Are you not going to go for it? I said, yeah, yeah, yeah!" So I got... I pumped myself... and I told Larissa and she was like,*

*00:44:02*

*Yeah, let's do it." So I started running, I... I filed for candidacy for governor. So the governor calls me. He said, "Hey, I see you filed for candidacy. That's uh, you know, that's pretty impressive. Good for you. Good luck, and I'll see you there." And I said, okay. So I got to the academy. Before then, to not make the story long, this girl tried to... she wrote me trying to get to know me, you know, trying... basically, trying to see if I was a Democrat, what she was trying to do. What... where do you stand on this issue? What are you doing now? Ah, what do you think about border security? What do you think about immigration? About immigrants? Ah, you know, she was like, touching, just... seeing where she could get me on the election. And I was responded very kindly and vague. To be honest, you know. (laughs) And then, uh... and then I got to the... to the academy, and yeah,* llegaban la muchachita esa con quince maletas, su papá un Tejano grandote güero así... *I mean, just rich people, you know? There were some rich people there.* Y luego, empezamos con la elección, y empezamos con las campañas, y... y su campaña era... era... he estado aquí mucho tiempo, y él es nuevo, y era más de ataque de mi. Yo no le comenté nada de eso. Nada de eso. No más simplemente había un *Bill*... que fue el *Bill* que separó a todos. Que decía, *it was called the Liberty Bill. But I called it the Drinking Bill. It was to lower the drinking age from 21 to 18. And uh, Texas is the leading state in deaths and DUIs in the nation. And they want to lower the... and they want to lower it from 21 to 18. Saying if you are able to go to war at 18, you should be able to drink at 18. And gun control was another one. If you are able to go to war at 18, you should be able to have a gun at 16. And*

*00:45:42*

*then, seatbelts. You shouldn't have to wear seatbelts. So basically, the whole scenario at one end was, don't wear seatbelts, carry a gun at 16 and be drunk at 18 driving. That's what the... main scenario was for them. And I was... against some of these bills. And they came to me and they said, "You know what? If you want to have a chance at this election," the governor sent someone to tell me, he said, "stop your attacks on this bill because he likes it, and you're not even from here, and you shouldn't be here, and... you know, you should stop or else you're going to really lose this campaign. You're already going to lose, but he's going to make sure that you win with like one vote, and that's going to be yours. If you don't calm down." So I said, I was... you know, I got really nervous. But I told you, "You go tell the governor that he didn't bring me here. I got myself here. God got me here and... and he can go and do what he has to do, but he's not going to stop me." Which I was really nervous about, but I still told him that. So the campaign... kept on doing,*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*and I made little friends here and there, and they helped me out, they were really good, they were from Texas. So... election day comes up, and uh... the other guy run... the other Hispanic guy, the first time he won, he was a Cuban, from Florida, Republican, of course.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *Very conservative. Good friend. And um, so... he ends up taking Lieutenant Governor. First time ever a Hispanic takes high office. But now the battle was between this girl and me. And she was the Governor's best friend, as well. And then it was me, who was just totally an outsider. So... uh, you know, what they... they say, uh, they say, "I hope that, uh... Amy... I think, Amy's her name, she comes back to be a chair, because our Governor, Mr. Caravilla is the Governor." So I... I got elected governor of the academy by them. And uh, and I was shocked. I wasn't... I mean, I was happy and I was shocked at the same time. So... and then, and then the staff and the faculty who were all state legislators and senators...*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *...they voted for... the Rookie of the Year, and I got that award as well. So I got Rookie of the Year and I got elected governor. So the girl started crying, you know, telling me I didn't deserve it, and... I shouldn't be there. But you know, who cares? I'm the governor. So... (laughs) you know?*

R: (laughs)

00:47:45

I: *So, uh, I...*

R: *She actually cried?*

I: *Yeah, she cried. She wouldn't shake my hand. She wouldn't shake my hand, and... you know, because I didn't deserve to be there. So now the people that... were really, um, cynical to me the whole time I was there, well they came up and they were like, "Well, you know, I hope you don't take this personally. It was just politics, and you know..." They... these people take it all serious, like their life, for four days. They live all year for those four days and they really play the role. I was really impressed. So I just played natural and not... not freaked out about it. And, anyway, I got elected. And... so now I'm coming back next year as the governor. And... and... and uh, Rookie of the Year. And the fac... the faculty came up to me and said, you know, this is the first time this has happened, so, the first time here... and... you know, you did this in four days and you beat probably the strongest candidate that we've had. So... and I... and I tell you this because that was something impossible for me. That was something... because to go you had to fundraise as well. You couldn't pay for your own tuition or airfare. So you had to ask people in your community, "Hey, can you support me to go?"*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *So you had to fundraise for, like, eight hundred bucks. And, uh... and I got way over... just... just in my church alone I... I got, like, over four thousand. Just people, "Yeah, I'll give you three hundred." And some people gave me fifteen and some people gave me ten. So... I just made the announcement, and people came up and they gave me... So I was able to give money, secretly, no one knew who it was, but I gave money for scholarships for others that didn't have the funds to go. And I knew who they were. They didn't know who I was. And some of them were the ones that*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*really hated me. And they didn't know that my money got them there, but they really hated me. And... and they... really hated me. And uh, but I never said anything, of course, and ... and they didn't have to know that it was me. So... it just showed... that showed me that... I thought it was impossible, I said who's going to want to give me... I mean, how am I going to raise eight hundred bucks? That's just, I mean... I don't like... I don't like asking people for money. And... how am I going to do that? And even, how am I going to go and win the election? Well, just stick to my principles. Just stick... and people... people said at the end, even though I agreed with that bill that you didn't agree with, just the fact that you were the new guy and you still stood up to the current governor and said I believe against what you believe, just... and you're not from Texas... he said, he said, "I just respect you and I voted for you." So... so... so*

*00:50:02*

*little things get you places. And you don't even know what... how you're impacting other people. So... now I know, not because of this, but a series of things, and I can... could share other things. They just lead to my understanding that there's really nothing that we cannot achieve. Not that I can achieve, like Justo cannot achieve. But there's... if you set your mind to it. I mean, I could have lost the election. But I still would have been satisfied. See, I mean, I'm happy when I do things all out. And... and... and I did it all out and I went to the election, and I didn't get elected, I lost by twenty votes...*

*R:* (clears throat)

*I: ...I gave it my best. I mean, I... I can leave with a smile. As opposed to if I hadn't filed for candidacy and I went and not... grant... I mean, who know what would have happened? So I never leave room for chances. And whenever I see something, it's a challenge? Yes, it's a challenge. Can I do it? We'll see! I don't know if I can do it or not. But... but I,* no me voy a quedar a averiguar sentado si lo puedo hacer o no. Voy a ir, y voy a calar todos mis recursos. Voy a usar todos mis recursos. No me voy a quedar nunca... con nada reservado. *And that's why... for my future goals I... I... I have high goals for myself. People say... people tell me, "Do you want to be a congressman?" Maybe. "Do you want to be a governor?" Sure! I mean, as... as a congressman you're ma... people are asking me, "Is being congressman your main career goal? A U.S. congressman?"* ¿Sabes? La verdad, no... no... no... no puedo saber (inaudible) te digo... Puedo más que eso. *We can do more than that. We can... we can go to the White House. We can... laws can change. We can be governor. I mean, we can do so many things. So, I mean there's really no stopping anyone that really wants to do things. And...*

*R: There's no limits, you said.*

*I: Yeah, there's no limits. If you're willing to take a chance. And it's hard. It's not easy. It... being there, uh, right in the battle, when you think you're going to lose. When you think your... your efforts are not being... uh, you know, being helpful, or they're... you're not really helping anyone. I mean... and... and... and this just brings joy to my heart and sometimes even tears. When... when uh, people just... that you didn't even know, come up to you and... and they say, you know, I've been, uh... Like this lady, she... she went forward in church, and she had cancer, and ... and uh, she got prayed for,*

**Comment:** El optimismo y la asertividad de Justo parecen, efectivamente, no tener límites. Sin embargo, es evidente que mucho de este optimismo hubiera sido imposible sin la ventaja de la regularización de su estatus migratorio.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*00:52:22*
*and uh.. and she healed. And she healed, and then she went up to the church and she was like, "I had cancer and I prayed, and got healed." So, that night at the night service, I went up to her and I said, "You know, I'm... congratulations on your testimony. It was great testimony, and... and praise God for you, and... I'm glad that... that happened to you." And she said, "Well thank you," she said, uh, "Thank you, Justo." And I'm like, "Oh, you know my name." She said, "I've known your name for four years. I've been praying for you for four years. Every time I see you in church I just... think very highly of you. I saw you spoke once in front, and you really blessed my life, and you changed me. And since then I've been praying for you." This lady had been praying for me for four years. And I didn't even know her name. But... when... when... so you never know who's watching. You never know who... who you're blessing.*

R: *You never know the lives that you touch.*

I: *That... that you touch. And I don't say this with everyone, I just say this with caution and with responsibility, that you can't just be out there... and not because you have a public... public uh, position... but just every day person. You don't know who... who's looking at you. And... and... what you look at as insignificant, other people may... deem as, you know, life changing for them. My coach doesn't even know, until today, what kind of a change he made in my life by telling me that story. I mean, right now he might as well be thinking, "Man, I overreacted with that poor kid. Rather than pull him to the side and probably spit in his face, I wish I hadn't done that." But what he did there changed my life. You know? So... it's not only what I do, it's what other people have done for me. That... that have really impacted me. I mean, what Valerie Frost did, I saw her talking to one of the business teachers at the uh... at the uh... campus once.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *And I said, I'm not even taking business here. I'm going to the West campus. That's where I met you. See? It happens like that. And I met you there, and then... look at us now! I mean, here we are. And it's all because I said, I'm... I don't think I can take a class with... ah... I forgot his name... but he, I ended up taking him later for Business 100 and he was really cool. But uh, yeah, so I... and that's when I met you.*

*00:54:27*

R: Qué increíble.

I: *So, uh, things happen. You know, so quickly.*

R: Y ahora yo soy su jefe.

I: Y ahora... (laughs) *Yeah, and then, look at that. And now you are his boss. And... and here we are, talking at a conversation where, I'm not even coming up and telling you, "Hey, your employee did this." This just happens. Then... there we are in the business class, and uh, and I'm looking and I'm like, this guy's sharp. I was like, this guy knows what he's talking about. He dresses nice,* no ves a muchos mexicanos así. *And...* y luego te dejo de ver por muchos años. *And then...* y luego, te hablo para preguntarte por un libro, y te acuerdas de mí, *I'm like, oh my God, this is... this is amazing. So...* Entonces, tú no sabes lo que... en tu clases, hazte cuenta, cuando hablabas, de este... nos impactaba porque... porque cómo hablas, ¿me

entiendes? Y cómo enseñabas. Entonces, eso cambió mi perspectiva a mí de los negocios y los negocios internacial, y de lo cómo un mexicano puede llegar a ser educado. Entonces, allí hay... hay muchas cosas que... la gente no sabe lo que impacta. Con un comentario que te hacen. Bueno o malo.

*R:* Hasta dónde puede llegar.

*I:* Hasta dónde puede llegar.

*R:* Nos salimos un poquito, ¿no?

*I:* (laughing) Sí, yo creo

*R:* ...por la tangente, pero (laughs). Am, yo creo que... que... con esto estamos terminando. Nada más te voy a hacer una última pregunta muy... muy breve. ¿Cuál es tu... tu... tu mayor éxito en la vida? ¿Qué es lo que tú consideras... tu mayor éxito? O, ¿Qué es éxito para ti?

*I:* Hm. Eh... Lo... Tengo veinticuatro años, y te puedo hablar de éxitos. Que...

*00:56:13*

(recording ends)

## Interview VI – Part III- 00:10:47

R: Bueno, entonces...

I: ¿Qué es éxito, dijiste?

R: ¿Cuáles han sido tus mayores éxitos en la vida? es una de las preguntas que había. Que tú me has dicho algunos de ellos, pero... lo importante es ¿cuáles son los que tú consideras éxitos?

I: Hay uno... hay... eh... diferentes categorías de éxito. Eh... sea, los puedo aplicar al decir, em, por ejemplo, el... el... el... graduarme de la universidad fue para muchos dicen, bueno, muchos lo hacen. Y es cierto. Y muchos en tu situación lo hacen. Y algunos en situaciones más difíciles. Sí. Pero... por lo que yo considero un éxito grande eso... en esta ocasión como te digo, de categorías, es... muchas veces pensamos en éxito de lo que hay en espera, o ¿a quién te haces feliz con cierto logro? Muchas veces, logros personales que tienes contigo mismo. Entonces, el... el graduarme de la universidad... para mi fue... fue... algo grande. O sea, fue algo bueno. Cualquiera después de cinco años es tu... qué bueno que me gradúo. Y otra gente va por la maestría y luego el doctorado, y todo esto, y... sigue, pero para lo que mis papás significó el que yo me graduara, por eso yo mido mis éxitos, por el orgullo que

00:01:32

ellos sintieron. Ellos estaban más felices que yo. Estaban más orgullosos que yo. O sea, que este éxito lo puedo catagorizar importante. Por eso si me dijeras para mí, Justo, en tu vida personal, para tí, tu... ¿cuál es tu éxito más grande? No... tal vez no fuera la universidad, graduarme... al nivel que lo es, nada más por lo bien que me sentí yo... al ver la reacción de mis papás, y lo que significó para ellos. Y la última boleta que les llevé, ellos estaban pasando un tiempo muy difícil por una situación familiar estresante... algo... totalmente separado de lo que me estaba hablando. Es una situación dentro de mi familia. Y... yo fui el último semestre, y el último

**Comment:** La medida del éxito en proporción a la satisfacción o el bienestar que se le brinda a los demás.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

semestre para graduarme, y ya tuve que tomar ocho clases. Y... me saqué A en todas las clases. Y les entregué la boleta, y les dije, "Me gradué Cum Laude." Que es arriba de tres punto seis, como quedé (inaudible). Y para ellos eso fue... fue grande. Entonces lo que hice... hay un *sash* que te dan así, entonces en esa *sash* puse una... *pin* de cada actividad en lo que estuvé involucrado. Y el día de mi graduación se la di a mi mamá, y a el... *sash* de honores se lo di a mi papá. Entonces ellos los tienen ahorita en su pared. Es lo más grande para ellos, ¿me entiendes? Para mí, si me hubieran dado a mi, yo lo dicuide en mi cajón, lo más seguro. No porque lo menos aprecio, pero como es tu esfuerzo, tus diplomas no las tienes allí por lo general. No... no te pones tú, "Wow... qué fregón soy." Y la pones allá arriba. Sino, eso es para... lo logras para... muchas cosas lo logras porque sabe (inaudible). No me forzaron ir a la universidad. No escojí la carerra que ellos me escojieron. Nada por el estilo, pero... sé el importante que para ellos era. Que yo me graduara. Porque para eso vinieron. ¿Me entiendes? Para eso vinieron. Para... para... y eso es un paso que ellos han logrado. Entonces cada éxito que tengo, lo comparto tanto con ellos porque... ellos son gran parte de eso. Eso es uno que te puedo decir. Em... de éxito. El tomar la ciudadania, cuando tomé juramento de este... me robaron el aire, y te estoy sincero. Porque... estoy orgulloso de ser ciudadano de este país. Estoy... orgulloso de eso. Eso fue un logro porque... te voy a decir... fue una... una... una batalla que tomó a tantas personas, tomó a... tomó tanto dinero, tanto esfuerzo, tantas... sufrimiento, tantos abusos, tanto... tanta esperanza, tanta fe, tanta disciplina... es una culminación de todo, en ese momente que... que dices... el juramento.... *I pledge allegience to the flag of the United States of America.* Y que lo tomas después de que has

00:04:14

tomado juramento de ser ciudadano de este país. Es indescriptible. Es indescriptible para alguién que... que toma... y hay gente al alrededor que no... lo está haciendo... hay gente que ni siquiera lo dice. Pero yo estaba diciendo con todo que tenía. Y estaba en la fila casi a mero atrás, y (inaudible) allí estaba. Tenía un montón de gente que había ido, como te digo, mis mentores que me pagaban la ciudanía, mis papás, unos familiares, o sea, porque fue un... un momento de la familia. Yo soy el primero que me convierto en ciudadano. Em... fue... fue impactante en mi vida, y me sentí con...

R: (clearing throat)

I: (inaudible) la forma de registración para votarme, iba a (inaudible), tantas cosas. Eso es otro de mis... de mis logros que yo te puedo decir, personal que me impactó.

R: Y si alguién te preguntara (clears throat), por ejemplo, en términos generales, ¿qué es el éxito? ¿Cómo lo defines el éxito?

I: El éxito, yo lo definiera... alcanzar tus metas. Alcanzar tus metas. Yo le platico con mi familia. Les digo, "¿Sabes? Yo no quiero llegar a ser gobernador si yo... si mi proposito, y yo soy mejor siendo un maestro de la escuela de la elemental. Yo no quiero se un maestro de la elemental si voy a perder mi tiempo allí cuando yo fui a (inaudible) para ser gobernador o mi... mi... mi... camino está para mi... o... o... yo tengo la habilidad para. Puedo ser un gobernador. Para mi no... para mi los viajes a Egipto lo cuento igual como mi viaje a San Carlos. Para mi no era más grande uno que el otro. Porque para sacar (inaudible) una misión. Y la misión era enseñar a

**Comment:** Yes... this is the point that Marina and Jesenia understand very well, that their parents came here so that their children could succeed. They feel the frustration that they cannot live up to these expectations, that they have been left out, despite the fact that they have the ability and the desire to do more with their education and their lives. It is interesting that the women seem more perplexed by this than the men. Justo feels the responsibility to his parents, but is not in the situation to feel frustrated. All he feels is extreme hope and happiness, and that the world is open to him. He was able to give back to his parents in a way Jesenia and Marina have not been able to because of their undocumented statuses.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

niños de primero a sexto grado, inglés, computación, y mercado libre. Y es lo que iba a hacer, y cuando regresaba, era un viaje exitoso. Cuando fui a Egipto, fuimos a empezar cuatro equipos de libre comercio. Cuando regresé de Egipto, fue exitoso mi viaje por eso. No fue lo más exitoso porque fue más grande, o el otro porque fue más cercita, cuatro horas de aquí, a contar las dieciseis horas volando. No, no tenía nada que ver. Es... cuando te pones, una meta. Sea la que sea. Y tú la vas y la haces, entonces tú eres exitoso. En la meta que te pongas. Por más... no hay chica o grande, porque todos tomas una cantidad de esfuerzo. Ir a hablar con universitarios de... de Egipto es una cosa. Pero creeme que... convencer a un niño del primer año que tiene que aprender inglés... es la...

**Comment:** Success for Justo, then is defined here: Making goals and meeting them, no matter what they are.

00:06:40

R: (clears throat)

I: (inaudible), cuando están todos gritando y todos (inaudible)... toma otro tipo de paciencia y otro tipo de personalidad, y otro tipo de... de habilidad que necesitas para eso. Pero no es igual.

R: Así es.

I: (speaking over) No es igual. Entonces, tengo la misma cantidad de respeto por el presidente de esta nación como lo tengo, por el trabajo que hace, bien o malo, o política buena o mala, independiente el puesto del presidente, como él que... él que nos limpia aquí. Y sabes lo aprendí apreciar yo, porque viendo al *Chancellor,* Bob Jensen, cuando yo estaba allí, lo mucho que él hacía, y las... mira las personas que él alcanzaba, ¿sabes? No hubiera poder hacerlo si la computatora no se la hubieran arreglado. No, estuviera bien incómodo si... si... los focos en su oficina no funcionaban cuando ellos se los cambiaba. Entonces yo aprendí apreciar el importante que es cada puesto en cada area, y creeme que el mantenimiento allí en el colegio comunitario que lo hace ahorita, es... es éxito. El contribuye al éxito de todo el campus. Claro, diferente roles pero, todo es igual. Luego fuimos a ver la casa, estaba... estaba en este... como cuatro muchachos limpiando todo de volada. Ellos contribuyen al éxito. Y eso... si no, tuviéramos todo el piso manchado.

R: Así es.

I: O sea, hay tanto éxito en todas partes, que el éxito simplemente es como tú... haces un trabajo que contribuye a la... *bigger picture* de algo. Mi casa está lista, ahorita, gracias a Dios, gracias a que puedo contarles algo de ese enfrente como que pusieron ladrillos, como que había dinero para construir inicialmente, como para mucho que limpiaban al último. Es la misma. Todos fueron exitosos. El éxito se alcanza por medio de... poder lograr tu meta. ¿Cuál es tu meta? No hay metas bajas. Y no hay metas demasiado altas tampoco. No hay metas insignificantes. No hay metas demasiado importantes. Para unas personas sí, para otras no. Son metas. Y cuando las logras, tienes esa satisfacción de éxito.

**Comment:** El éxito es también una noción colectiva. No tiene sentido sin los demás y no puede darse en un vacío humano.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:08:34

I: ¿Me entiendes? Entonces para mí, eso es el éxito de... de cualquiér cosa. Lo aprendí en el deporte. A veces me sentía mejor... anotar un... entonces ya, en práctica, cuando estás jugando con los puros camaradas en el parque, que un juego.

R: Que en un juego...

I: Que en un juego...

**Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**Dissertation Research**
**Interview VI – Part III – 00:10:47**

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

R: Oficial.
I: ...oficial. ¿Por qué? Porque en el juego oficial puede que llegues adelante, o puede que llegues muy atrasado, pero a veces le damos todo con dos manos de parque, porque (inaudible) nadia importa, nada, pero... está... estamos a punto de (inaudible) y estamos con otro equipo, y... cuando (inaudible) todos regresan a su casa a comer pizza o lo que sea, pero es tu satisfacción, tu (inaudible), tú sabes lo que haces. Nunca hay éxito demasiado chico. Para mi el éxito es alcanzar lo que luego te propones hacer, como te digo. Siendo maestro, siendo gobernador... yo me... yo de ser maestro, quiero ser lo mejor que yo puedo ser, y cambiar la vida de estes niños. Si yo soy gobernador, yo quiero ser lo mejor que yo puedo ser, y cambiar la vida de los ciudadanos de este estado. Es independientemente en donde estoy. Y fíjate. Curiosamente, tomando cien por ciento en serio cada puesto por más chiquito que se vea, es lo que te ayude escalar el próximo. Cuando le echas todas las ganas en cada una de las cosas que tienes
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Y no siempre aprendí eso. Había clases que no me gustaban. Arte, déjame decirte que... dormí por esa clase todo el tiempo. Ahora lo veo diferente. A mí... mis amigos platiquen y yo digo, "Wow, es suave esa comparación. Quizás hacer un poquito de esa." O sea, tuve la oportunidad. No la usé. Eso aprendes. ¿Entiendes? Eso aprendes. Entonces, tomar cada oportunidad. Y... cuando haces algo a lo máximo.... y no quiere decir que siempre triunfas. El triunfo y el éxito son dos cosas diferentes. El éxito es cuando tú logras lo que tú querías... tú alcanzaste... te sientes... el éxito es personal. El triunfo es cuando ganas y... y lo logras y... y... y es perfecto. Todos queremos triunfar todo el tiempo, pero no porque tienes éxito quiere decir necesariamente que llegaste triunfante a donde tenías que ir. No porque triunfaste tampoco quiere decir que eres exitoso en lo que hiciste. El éxito es personal, y es lo que alcanzas sin medir por puestos ni nada del estilo.
R: (affirmative noises). Exactamente. (inaudible, manipulating recorder)
00:10:47
(recording ends)

**Comment:** Not all the words are clear here, but he is saying that sometimes you have good games and sometimes you have bad games. If it's in practice, there isn't any official glory to it, but you still feel good because you know you did a great job. Perhaps a reflection of Justo's attitude in other dimensions of life.

**Comment:** This is a good attitude. It allows for failure, without allowing failure to sidetrack him.

**Comment:** He has an inward definition of success rather than a definition that compares himself against others.

## Interview VI – Part IV- 01:03:24

R: Bueno, aquí estamos, entonces. Bueno, lo primero que te voy a preguntar es, si después de nuestra entrevista anterior, em... reflexionaste sobre la conversación que tuvimos, y... más que nada, sobre la historia que tú me contaste, y... y si tienes alguna... alguna observación que... que agregar o alguna... alguna otra cosa que... que quieras comentar después de eso. O si tienes preguntas, incluso.
I: No, de hecho no tengo preguntas. Sí, estuve pensando en lo que compartimos. Eh, más bien, la razón por la que estuve pensando. No creo que tengo nada que agregar, nada más la razón que lo estaba pensando fue porque hacía mucho que no... que no iba a esa parte de mi própia historia. Eh, que no relataba incidente por incidente. Si tenía verdaderamente memoria de ello. Sin embargo no... no me enfocaba en eso, y no había compartido con nadie en... tan específicamente ese... hace mucho tiempo ese incidente y visitarlo de vuelta trajo muchas memorias y... y... nada más llegué a

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

mi casa y... y... vi la manera que pasamos el año nuevo, y... y era insólito (inaudible) a mi mamá así hace ocho años. Que sucedió...

R: (speaking over) Acaso sucedió en ese lapso, ¿no?

00:01:22

I: Te digo, fuimos a cenar Larissa y yo en esos días, y le digo, le digo, "Hace unos cuantos años," le digo, "para mi familia era... un lujo completo y anual el ir a comer todos juntos a McDonald's," le digo. O sea, era... era como celebrábamos. Los cinco nos íbamos y... y no pedíamos los paquetes, ¿no? porque era demasiado caro, sino pedimos unas cuantas hamburguesas y lo poquito lo compartíamos, pero el punto era salir. Y luego, ah, y comer en un restauran, en cualquier le digo. Y yo estoy hablando de McDonald's, es un restaurante algo...

R: De comida rápida.

I: Sí, de comida rápida. Era algo... un lujo. Era... era algo una vez al año, o de este... imposible, de hecho. Muchas veces. Pero... pero en este año nuevo lo pasamos muy diferente, gracias a Dios. Familia yendo a la casa, y nada más viendo lo de... como... como hemos sido bendecidos, em... me ayudó esta entrevista como te digo, a recordar todo esto, y ver... hasta donde hemos llegado. Y... pues, obviamente no vamos a parar aquí.

R: Qué bueno.

I: Yo sé que vamos a llegar más adelante todavía.

R: No me queda ninguna duda de eso.

I: Okay.

R: Eh, y es bueno siempre hacer un ejercicio de retrospectiva, ¿no?

I: Sí, sí.

R: En este caso, eso es una oportunidad para eso, pero... pero en la vida tan agitada que vivimos, casi no tenemos tiempo de... de hacerlo, ¿no?

I: (affirmative noises)

R: Em, *What does it mean for you to be an immigrant in the US? Is the first question of the third part of this interview. Um, what... what does it bring to your mind when you think of you as an immigrant? Do you think of you as an immigrant? Or what...?*

I: Sí, sí. Sí me considero un inmigrante. Me considero, em, un inmigrante, como te estaba diciendo la otra vez, orgulloso de mis raíces, y sabiendo que tenemos mucho que... que... que ofrecer aquí. Y como un inmigrante, yo me siento como una... ahora, fui un inmigrante aquí a los... a los doce años. Y... no sé compartir (inaudible) pero, antes de esto, venía muy en seguida a los Estados Unidos, de hecho, hice aquí Kinder y luego, segundo año también estuve aquí un tiempo por... razones de negocios de mi papá. Mi papá viajaba mucho para acá para vender sus productors, y hacía negocios con Estados Unidos así como hacía con otros países, pero no más lo acompañaba yo cuando veníamos para acá de familia porque estaba cerquita.

**Comment:** La mexicanidad es algo que Justo nunca pretendió dejar atrás y ciertamente tiene una noción positiva de lo que significa e implica ser mexicano en Estados Unidos.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:03:58

I: También mi bisabuelo era ... el cónsul mexicano aquí en la ciudad... el consúl me... sí, aquí en esta ciudad.

R: (affirmative noises)

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: Entonces también por eso veníamos. Entonces pasaba yo tiempo aquí. Y... y desde, entonces no fue un cambio com... o sea, de ambiente, sí. De idioma, como dices, de los modismos, más que nada. Pero el ambiente americano lo... viajamos para acá para comprar, entonces es esta ciudad, más que nada... no Estados Unidos, sino esta ciudad. Fue parte de mi crecimiento, entonces, ah, yo me sentí como en... al hacer la transición ya completa para acá, eso me convierte en inmigrante, ¿verdad? Y... y hay ese... esa... debate de que si soy mexicano, mexicano-americano o que, pero... pero... la pregunta específica ahorita de inmigrante, como yo me siento es... es... como te estoy diciendo, tengo dos cosas que ofrecer, definitivamente, yo me siento que encajo más con mi... con mi... a como estoy ahorita, y conozco más bien el sistema y todo, es aquí en Estados Unidos que en México, porque aquí es donde, como he crecido, y... y esa parte de mi, no me siento extranjero, no me siento inmigrante. La parte académica, o... en el empleo. Sin embargo, en muchas cosas todavía sí, me siento como un inmigrante, al saber que eso es nuevo para ellas, inclusiva cuando regreso a México en muchas... muchas maneras, siento como un encaje inmediato.

**Comment:** So he was familiar with the US from the time he was very little.

**Comment:** Esto indiscutiblemente le da una ventaja a Justo que no tienen Rosario, David y Roberto.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Que simplemente checa. Es todo, cuando voy con mi primo, o lo que sea, y (inaudible) las bromas, simplemente esto chequa. ¿Entiendes? O es así, el sentido del humor, muchas cosas que te dices, el dicho que, ¿qué soy? dices, de aquí mero soy. Y cosas que aquí no. Pero aprendes a vivir.. .eh, no... para mi es un estilo de vida normal, el ser diferente. Para muchos cuando están... cuando están fuera de su ambiente... que no son igual...

R: (affirmative noises)

00:05:56

I: Es... y en suma... es cuando se sientan fuera de su nido, como quien dice.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Cuando yo estoy en un ambiente de que estoy completamente igual de que los demás, es cuando me siento... no me siento incómodo, pero es lo que es diferente para mi. Porque no... no estoy acostumbrado hacer eso. Cuando venimos para acá, mi papá hacía un gran esfuerzo de... de querer ir a vivir al este para evitarme ir a escuelas donde... en México tiene el estéreotipo de que, oh, hay pandillas, y...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...navajas, en Estados Unidos (inaudible) en las escuelas. Entonces ellos hicieron la esfuerza de vivir al este. Entonces estaba segregado de todo tipo de... de muchachos hispanos o latinos, mexicanos inclusivo porque vivíamos en el este. Y... lo curioso fue de que esos años estuvieron implementando el... el... el sistema de *bussing system*, y traían los del sur al este, y los del este al sur, y me estaban llevando al sur de todas maneras a la escuela.

R: (laughing, affirmative noises)

I: ... Pero... pero... de este, independientemente, con los muchachos que me andaba en el camión, esos que transbordaban para allá, y esos que vecinos y todo eso, pues eran... eran anglos. Y... mi mejor amigo inclusive, que me enseñaba decir que no vivía en un *department*, sino en un *apartment*...

R: (affirmative noises)

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: Y cosas por el estilo, se llama Doug, Doug Jordan. Fue el mejor amigo por unos buenos años. Y... y entonces, con pura gente diferente que yo. Eh, explicando ciertas cosas desde... que no me entendían por el... por el accento. Siempre en una manera ser diferente.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Eh, entonces el... el... el inmigran... ser inmigrante para mi, esto te puedo explicar, es como ser normal. En... en... estar en mi país natal, donde soy como todos lo demás, no es normal, si se puede decir. No me incomoda, pero por eso me siento en vacaciones cuando estoy en México, aún con mi familia, aún en mi ciudad natal, porque siempre cuando vas de vacaciones, te sientes tú como libre de responsabilidad, o sea, te sientes relajado, no soy de aquí, y qué si me atropieza, nadie me conoce, ¿me entiendes?
R: (affirmative noises)
00:07:56
I: Así me siento, de donde soy. Y el ser inmigrante, por ejemplo, la... la... yo pienso algo de ser inmigrante es ser diferentes, siempre estar luchando contra el corriente... y sí, es cierto. Pero eso es mi estilo de vida normal.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Eso es mi estilo de vida normal, o sea que... el ser inmigrante es, como yo me siento normal. Como yo me siento... de donde soy, y lo que estoy acostumbrado hacer, y la razón, yo pienso, una de las razones por las que... se ha formado mi personalidad como se ha formado de... de luchar por lo que quiero, y de demonstrar quién soy, y quiénes somos, también. Como te compartí la vez pasada, yo tengo una tendencia... a no tomarme las cosas por mi mismo nada más. Siempre... siempre saber que no se trata de mí nada más. Queriendo decir que hay algo más. O sea no... porque si fuera nada más por mí las cosas, muchas veces... no es para mí no es suficiente motivación. Yo tengo que sab... entender, ¿sabes qué? Tenemos de cambiar esta perspectiva de inmigrantes aquí. No... estos departamentos en los que vivimos, no conocen a inmigrantes. Nomás nos conocen a nosotros. Como me ven a mí, ven a un mexicano. Yo... no puedo dejar basura tirada. Aunque aquella la deje, yo no puedo dejarla tirada. Me da flojera, siempre no puedo dejarla tirada.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Y... y simplemente vivir una vida recta siempre... a veces, sin tener ganas, la verdad. Y a veces... eh... querer tomar una oportunidad de ventaja por las muchas que te llegan... que llevas tú de desventaja. Pero siempre mantenerte recto. Nunca tomar algo que no es tuyo. La palabra "robar." No (inaudible) robo. No, pero muchas veces gente toma cosas que no son de ellos. Pero eso aprendí de mi papá. Y mi papá, completamente recto todo el tiempo. No como, pero no voy a tomar algo que no es mío. Y... y... siempre, eso para mi, el ser inmigrante es una... es una identificación, es una lucha, y es un estilo de vida. Es un estilo de vida que... que no importa cuando acento uno tenga en el futuro, o cuanto... que tan ciudadano sea, con los años que ya no tenga, o que puestos tenga, yo nunca voy a dejar de ser inmigrante.
R: (affirmative noises)
00:09:59

**Comment:** Indicativo de una consciencia colectiva y una responsabilidad de grupo que también son observables en los otros entrevistados.

**Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**Dissertation Research**
**Interview VI – Part IV – 01:03:24**

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

I: Y... y.. no porque... ya no digo que soy de México, ya que soy de aquí, sino porque ser inmigrante para mí ha sido... una personalidad. Ha sido un estilo de vida. Y... y me ha funcionado.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Por lo tanto no tengo por qué dejarla. Porque me siento orgulloso de quién soy. Me siento orgulloso de dónde vengo. Y porque entiendo de donde vengo y donde estoy ahorita, es que yo sé que puedo llegar a... a un lugar en el futuro después.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Ser inmigrante es una identidad para mí. Es una... una... constante estilo de vida. Aquí no me cuesta trabajo llevarlo. Y no pienso en mí como un inmigrante en desventaja, con tal lo pienso como... como una ventaja. Es como ese dicho que dicen, cuando tú vez a... tú te ries de alguién que tiene accento, dicen, como tiene acento, quiere decir que... debe de hablar dos idiomas mínimo.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Entonces, es más inteligente que tú, dicen. O sea, no hay manera... no hay razón de reírte allí, que no tienes... que tiene acento, porque eso quiere decir que... habla dos idiomas. Está dando un idioma...
R: (affirmative noises) Así es.
I: ¿Me entiendes? Entonces es... es como eso dices tú, un... oh, un inmigrante, wow. Qué duro lo tienes, y él dice, no, cómo... no te preocupes. Córrele la tuya, y yo estoy corriendo la mía. Y es siempre saber que te identifiques con un gran grupo de personas atrás de tí.
R: Sí. Así es. Y eres un representante de ese grupo de personas, yo creo. ¿No?
I: Me... el... el... traerme en la mente que lo soy... me estimula muchas veces cuando tú dices, híjuela, no quiero ir a esta clase. No... no quiero hacer esto.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: El siempre ser... *being singled out, for what some people puts them down, for me it has encouraged me to do better. If I'm singled out, if you're looking at me, and you're expecting me to do something either good or bad, it doesn't matter, but I'm being singled out, I know my actions are being noticed. So... I... I can't... I can't mess up. I mean, I have to do everything that I can.* Y como te digo, *messing up* no es, precisamente... no triunfar, pero ser exitoso como te digo. Sea, es siempre lo más... tener la cabeza en alta cuando tú... haces algo.
R: (affirmative noises)
00:12:04
I: Y lo haces recto y lo haces bien, y lo haces con todo lo que tú tienes. Puede que (inaudible) por falta de recursos o falta de conociemiento, pero siempre saber, como un... tú aprendes, nada más tú recuerda, como inmigrante, puedo hacer esto. Sea, es como...
R: Así es.
I: ... siempre he dicho... cuando... gente... hay gente que no sabe que soy inmigrante. Asumen que nací aquí, y cuando fui presidente del *Campus*, por ejemplo, había sido puros muchachos que eran... que eran anglos, y más por el área en lo que estamos.
R: ¿Fuiste el primer hispano?
I: Fui el primer hispano en un buen tiempo, sí. No sé si antes habrá sido, pero sé que fui el primero... en bastantes años, fui el primer hispano allí... como presidente. Y

**Comment:** La habilidad de transformer retos en oportunidades de crecimiento.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

me dijeron, "*Oh, the first, uh... hispanic...*" y, ya me estaban diciendo, y... salió el tema que yo no era nacido aquí. Me dijo, "*You're an immigrant.*" Le dije yo, "*Yeah.*" Y entonces..

R: *The first immigrant.*

I: *Yeah, the first im...* definitivamente yo creo que sí fui el primer *immigrant.* No sé si el primer hispano. Cuando fui a la academia en Texas, de este... "*You weren't born in the U.S.?*" me dicen, "No, para que más te gusto todavía ni siquiera nací aquí." Nada más, y no (inaudible), sino les digo yo, ¿Qué tal? ¿Qué tal si quieres mi cara de eso nomás? Tú recuerda que soy inmigrante. Y que... y que cuando... hay muchos que conozco de Canadá, que los conocí en una conferencia, y me decían, "*Hey... is it true that, you know, all we see up here in the news is people jumping the border and running across the desert. That's all we know about Mexicans. Um, do you have any family that are immigrants?*" y quién sabe que. Y yo estaba allí supervisando en toda la conferencia,

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ... y les dije, "*I'm an immigrant.*" Y me di... "*What... what do you mean?*" me dicen, "*No, no, no, but like, people who were born outside of the US.*" Les digo, "*I was born outside of the U.S.*" les digo. "*I came here when I was twelve.*" Y le digo, "*I'm an immigrant.*" Y le digo, "*And I didn't run across the desert.*" Le digo, "*I'm not vandalizing anything.*" *And I don't... and I'm not taking anything away from those people,*" le digo. "*They are good people. Some... some, like all people,*" le digo, "*there's people that are... that harm other people, but... not all immigrants are what you see in the news or what you think in your head when you're seeing that. The people that are running across, you don't know anything about... I don't know anything about them. So what (inaudible) whether they're good or bad, but I can tell you something. I'm an immigrant. So you can, now you can say that you know an immigrant. That you met an immigrant.*

R: (affirmative noises)

00:14:22

I: *So you know me better than you know those people across the border. So, if you want to talk about someone, talk about someone who you saw here supervising a conference. Not someone who you saw on TV running across.*

R: *So... you're saying something really important here. Because people, generally, uh, regular people on the street, have an image of... immigrants, or what an immigrant is or looks like or, they have stereotypes.*

I: (affirmative noises)

R: *So what kind of image do you think people in general have about immigrants?*

I: *Oh, they... they... fff... it's a not positive image. Now, I gotta' tell you something. This conference that I went to in Texas, we had an immigration panel, and I thought it was gonna'... was gonna' be a battle. But the man there has... he was married to a woman from Nayarit. So... so he was a very good friend of the founder, and... if you had seen it, you would be like, man, this is a... a white, Texan that you just don't want to mess with, being a Mexican. Or something... but he was speaking about immigrants from a... I mean, a respectful perspective. And not only, well, married to one, what can I do? No, he was saying, these are hard working people, these are people that... that most of them come here to work. No one would risk their life in*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*the desert to come here and tag your walls. They're not here to tag your walls, you know?*

R: (affirmative noises)

00:15:40

I: *To... to write graffiti on your... I mean, to steal the bread off your house... I mean, they're not there for that. They're here to work. And he expanded it to... to all the future leaders and sexes right there. And I was proud that he was saying that. So... so you do find people like that. However, generally I think that they do have that, even the word "immigrant." You don't even have to... add illegal, or undocumented, or... whatever term they use,* ***it's just that word I think it has a negative connotation to it.*** *It's just... saying... an outsider, uh, they... they stereotype it as, what are you doing at a... ? You know, yeah, you may study, you're, you know, you're probably on a Hispanic scholarship kind of thing, or... if you're not, you... you know, a ... you should be working somewhere else, but... but uh... there're some fields that they're not used to seeing hispanics. And... and the thing is that... that uh, the many... many, uh, and this is fine, and I don't have anything against this, having networks of other hispanics and latinos, that's perfectly fine. But when you're only involved in that, then... then...*

R: *You isolate...*

I: *Yeah, you isolate yourself. And you don't... you don't see, like I told you, you don't go out and... and show people you have the potential do to this. This SIFE (phonetic spelling) organization, the one I was president for, uh... it's free enterprise, and if you go to the national competition, there's... there's African Americans and there's uh. and there's uh... Caucasians, you know, Anglos. But the Hispanics that you see are the ones from Hispanic Universities. But this was a club, that I was the only Hispanic in the whole club and I was president. And that just... and it's not because it was me, it's just that... you have to show that... that being Hispanic doesn't only mean that you can lead the Hispanic club, that you can lead the Spanish club, that you can lead... uh... the Hispanic, the Latino fraternity or sorority. No, no, no. You have the ability to be a... the ... the Attorney General of the United States. You know, you have the ability to be the Surgeon General of the United States. And I'm naming those positions because they're occupied by Hispanics/Latinos.*

R: (affirmative noises)

00:17:47

I: *You have the potential to be the president of the SIFE team that you're the only... the only Hispanic there. And... and... so now when they know that... I ran into this one guy, and he was riding with his friend, and I was walking through the U of A. And I said, "Hey! How you doing?" And he said, "Hey come here." So I shook his hand again, and he says, he turned to his friend and says, "Remember that one guy I was telling you about? That they... if there's ever a Mexican president, it's gonna' be this guy right here? Well he's the one." And they go, "Hey, hey how are you?" So... now... now I think, I made a point that... not, not remembering Justo, but remembering that... hey, Mexicans or Hispanics, you have a chance in this country. And it's not... it's not leading National Council of la Raza. That's not the only one. we can be somewhere else we haven't been before. We can be Speaker of the House, we can be... uh.. you know, Senate Majority Leader. Those... we... those are*

**Comment:** Una nación que se enorgullece de ser un país de emigrantes y que al mismo tiempo los desprecia. Interesantemente, discutiendo este trabajo con colegas en Inglaterra, también me han hecho saber que el término tiene una connotación negativa en su país.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

*achievable for us. And... we shouldn't be just focused... and people are called for different things. But we shouldn't just be focused on, I want to be an NCLR president. And that's perfectly fine, and people are called for that. But* ***I always tend to go where there hasn't been someone like me before.*** *You know? And it all started from living in those apartments, that we were living there when I first got here. It started from riding on the bus, where I was the only Hispanic there, um... it started by... by just different things that... and I didn't always say, where am I not welcome? I'm going to go there, where I'm not welcome, or where I'm not known. No, things just happened. But... I... I feel like I'm now learning what... one thing that I am called to do, and that is to go, and to really show people like this guy, who is a rich person from... from uh, Scottsdale, this guy I told you about, that he is now thinking that, not me, but... he's just playing with the possibility that there may be a Hispanic president. Why? Because he met someone, and in this case it was me, but it could be someone else as well, that had what he thinks a president should have...*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *...you know? Um, Dr. Right would always introduce me to people when we saw her. She was like, this is Justo, the next Hispanic governor in Arizona.*

R: (laughs)

I: *And I would be embarrassed most of the time, but she was seeing something. And that something... I still don't know what it is, but it's... it's just... showing that you can be the leader wherever you go.*

R: (affirmative noises)

00:20:06

I: *Give me something and I'll do it. Give me a task, and I'll do it. You know? The... I mean, things that you don't have, never stop me. And I don't... and I don't plan them to stop me. Right now at the U of A they, I'm gonna' co-teach a class, and I don't have a master's, so I can't technically be the instructor, but someone else is the instructor, and I'm gonna' be facilitating the class.*

R: *What class is that?*

I: *It's a... individual study class. It's um, I'm going to be coordinating people to write curriculum in economics for sixth graders, um, oversee another team for seventh graders and middle school, that they're going to be teaching personal finance, and then a group of interns from political science major that they're going to be leading eighth graders into, um, public policy areas and doing that. So they have to turn stuff in, and just oversee that... that class.*

R: *Amazing.*

I: *So, and they say... we know you can do it, but the other class they wanted me to teach is a personal finance class, but... I really do need to have a master's for that, and I don't. But this class they were able to sort of hide me between there... but I'm going to be teaching the class. So... they say, can you.... I'm writing the syllabus right now. First syllabus I've ever written, I mean, I... I hardly ever read the syllabus sometimes when I went to school (laughing), so, how I'm writing one, and the point system I have to come up with, that's what I've been doing all day, and... and they say, can you do it? And I say yes I can do it. I know I can do it. So, I did ask for help, of course, and it's not pride, but I... I take challenges. I take*

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

*challenges, and... that's ... that's what immigrants do. That's what being an immigrant is. Stepping up to the challenge.*

R: *Well, and I guess um, the mere fact that you... you become an immigrant, you are taking a big challenge.*

I: *Yeah.*

R: *...when you decide to leave your home.*

I: *So the first example I ever saw of taking a big challenge was my parents. I have yet to take a challenge like the one they took. You know? I've taken risks. I've... I've made small investments even, you know... go to the university, leaving home. Every... every um, challenge I think, or risk that I've taken does not compare to the one they took coming here. Leaving everything behind.*

R: *Yeah*

*00:22:05*

I: *And coming here. It's uh, I don't think I'm ever going to have the opportunity to take a risk like that. But if I have to, I have something to look at and say, hey, I have a great example.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *In my parents I have, I work with them because they... they... they always see their calling as, you know, you growing and us working hard. But I always remind them, um, my mom has a wall in my room full of my... my... you know, diplomas and things I've received. And uh, and I told her, I said, this is staying here with you. This is you. I mean, this is all you.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *This is the... the... the... what you have caused in my life. Because without you, I couldn't do all this. Without... not only your support, but the example you give me. Every time I... I start feeling tired, I remember my dad washing cars for $2.15 at a... January weather, when it's thirty-five degrees. Getting his hands wet, you know, and then having someone rip off half of his tips. I mean, I remember that and I say, you know, am I going to complain about having to study until twelve a.m. or one a.m.? No, no, no, you keep going. You keep going. And you keep going. And... and... and I remind myself of my parents, and... that's what keeps me going. I mean, they're my heroes. And they see me as their... their pride and joy, but I mean, I... I humble myself and I say, "no, you are... you are it... I mean, you may not have the title and all these things, and fame, and (inaudible), but..." For me, they're the ones. You know, they are the ones.* O sea...

R: *You... you've just been answering all kinds of questions that have to do with the previous interview, also...*

I: *(laughs)*

R: *...but you're making it more complete. Um,* bueno. Voy a volver a español porque se siente más a gusto.

I: *(laughs)*

R: Eh... pero, bueno. ¿Qué significó para tí ser... o qué significa para tí ser un un graduado de la universidad comunitaria, o el colegio comunitario? y ¿cuál es el valor de la educación para tí? Creo que ya me has dicho bastante de eso, pero...

I: (affirmative noises)

R: ... eh, quizá quieras especificarme.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

00:24:10
I: El... el colegio comunitario es algo de lo que... (inaudible) vuelvo lo mismo. Es algo en lo que... muchas personas. Yo he conocido a personas que... que dice... que los conocí en el colegio, inclusive, y luego... y luego nos vemos, "¿Tú fuiste al colegio comunitario?" o lo que sea, o (inaudible) algo más, "Sí, sí, pero me gradué de la universidad." O sea, es algo que, "Sí, sí fui, pero sea fue una clase, no crees que allí estuve. ¿y tú?" Y le digo yo, "Yo sí me gradué de allí. Pues sí, estuve tres años allí, no dos." ¿Me entiendes? Eh... Dr. Right me decía, me veía (inaudible) y me decía, "¿Qué significó para tí tu tercer año en el colegio comunitario?" Y le decía, "No, eso fue el año en que verdaderamente siento que florecí. O sea, los otros años estaba (inaudible) y todo, pero el tercer año fue como... podía disfrutar todo el esfuerzo que había hecho, y me causó gran... gran... gran benificio. Y la razón porque cambié, porque me tardaba un año más porque cambié de carrera, pero... pero este... para mí sigifica... es un gran orgullo. Es... eh, me a... de todos los tipos me dicen... me dicen, me dan carrilla, "Ese es tu frase política," pero no lo es. Cuando digo esto, digo, es que ser graduado del colegio, no hay cosa que te haga más parte de una comunidad que ser graduado del colegio comunitario de allí. Aun más de la universidad de la ciudad. (clears throat) Y me dicen, la carrilla, "es porque es lo que vas a usar en tu campaña que eres de la comunidad." No, lo puedo usar, no lo puedo usar, pero yo me siento tan parte de la comunidad. Puedo decir fui a cada campus. Conocí a cada campus. Me involucré en cada uno de ellos. Estuve en el colegio comunitario, y lo aproveché. Hm... lo aproveché en todos sentidos, lo aproveché en las becas, lo aproveché en las oportunidades que me dio para conocer a personas, lo aproveché para oportunidades de educarme, sea las clases, lo aproveché para... para promedio de allí de hacer servicio comunitario para... diferentes partes de la ciudad. Es un orgullo para mí graduar. No tengo ninguna queja de... de... ninguna... mucho menos, ninguna vergüenza de haber ido allí. Es un orgullo para mí haber ido allí. Por eso... por eso... cualquiér oportunidad que me dicen, "Oye, ¿podrías ayudarnos aquí?" Claro, por supuesto que sí. Por supuesto que sí.

**Comment:** How interesting... so for him it was a type of affirmation of his belonging to this community. His citizenship also happened at the time he was finishing high school, so this was the confirmation that yes, he belonged here.

R: (affirmative noises)
I: A veces me trataban de pagar, y les dije, no, yo no.. no... no quiero acceptar nada. O sea, de todo que he recibido de aquí, es lo mínimo que yo puedo hacer. Como te digo, estamos (inaudible) los alumnos graduados, em, es personal. Para mí, es personal, eso. La verdad, no... el... el... ser graduado de allí, del colegio, no es... un diploma más, una graduación. Es personal para mí.
00:26:44
R: ¿Por qué crees que algunas personas, em, no se... no se sienten muy orgullosos, o no quieren decir que... que fueron al colegio comunitario, o que hicieron materias, o que tomaron materias, o...?
I: Mira, muchas personas no... no acceptan que es... tienen vergüenza cuando dicen, "*No, no, I'm saying, I was just saying...*" No nada más, "*No, I was just saying...*" No nada más, *just say* todo lo que dice, o sea. ¿Me entiendes? Eh, lo que... la explicación que siempre que siempre la gente, les dicen, bueno, porque pues, tú sabes que el colegio comunitario no tiene el estátus que tiene la Universidad, o... siempre... el... el... el *community college* les gustó, pues menos... si sea por... porque

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

no tienes dinero para pagar la universidad, o porque no tienes... no tuviste los *SAT scores* para estar en la universidad. Sea lo que sea. Esas son las razones que hay. Ahora, todo eso, lo que yo opino... lo... lo considero que es una palabra, que es inseguridad. Simplemente inseguridad. Toda persona que tiene que andar tirando en frente lo que es, es porque no está seguro de lo que es. Y cuando tú estás tirando atrás, lo que eres, porque tienes vergüenza de lo que eres, porque te da vergüenza de eso que eres, y tienes vergüenza porque estás inseguro. No hay ningún... como te digo, no hay ningún mal en eso. Como te digo, cuando me fui a Washington la primera vez, como te digo, me acaba de graduar del colegio. Y de allí iba a la universidad. Y entonces, me dijeron que pusiera una escuela, o sea, que tienes que escoger una escuela. Y.. y... les expliqué, me dijeron, pues, puedes poner la universidad porque ya estás yendo para allá. Entonces dondequiera que me presentaba, lo que sea, (inaudible) como universidad de arizona es lo que iba a decir.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y entonces, pudiera haber hecho eso. Pero no lo hice... escogí el colegio comunitario. Escogí el colegio, por la simple razón que allí iba. Pues, era lo de que me gradué. Pero no lo hice al otro extremo, como muchas personas... de... de que lo hacen, "viva la raza, viva el colegio comunitario"... y yo soy del colegio hasta que me muera... y abajo la universidad, y... "fui a Harvard no más para aprovecharme de ellos, pero yo soy de aquí del barrio" (being sarcastic).

R: (laughs)

00:28:41

I: No... no... no lo tomo como activismo tampoco. Yo siempre trato de que todas mis actitudes y mis... mis logos o los... lo que hago, sea natural. Sea... ¿por qué fuiste al colegio comunitario? Para... *hey, you're true Raza, community college. You can say, why you gonna' put community college? Well, you know, why'd you put it? 'Cuz I went there.*

R: (laughs)

I: *You know, it's not because, yeah, I'm trying to prove myself, Mecha all the way kind of thing. No, no. I'm...*

R: *Simple logic.*

I: *Simple logic. I went there. And... and... if I would have gone somewhere else, I would have put that other place. If I would have been at the university, even a year before, if I had started at the college and then transferred over to the university, and then gone to D.C., I would have put university because I was going there. I mean, it does...* no tiene trabajo para mí. Y eso... yo pienso que las personas deben de tener, lo que puedan obtener, es estar seguro de quien soy. Y allí es donde entra mi mamá. Siempre... tú eres quien tú eres. Tú eres Justo Carbona aquí, en México, adónde quiere que vayas. Y tus habilidades son las mismas, tus logros son los mismos, y nadie te puede poner abajo. No dejes que nadie te diga que no puedes.

**Comment:** Una vez más la influencia maternal.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Por lo tanto, no tienes de que avergonzarte. Y el no avergonzarme de donde vengo. Eso lo aprendí también de mi papá. Porque él... por su trabajo y todo, él nunca se avergonzó decir ahorita trabajo en construcción... él iba a trabajar... de trabajo lavando carros... y... nos encontramos yo, me acuerdo que nos encontramos a personas de México cuando visitan las tiendas o lo que sea, y estamos aquí y no

**Comment:** Y la influencia paterna...

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

tenemos nada de dinero y le preguntaba a mi papá de que si... que si qué es lo que hacía, amigos de allá, y mi papá les decía, y se quedaban como en *shock*. Pero mi papá nunca se... se avergonzó porque es lo que hacía. Es lo que ponía pan en la mesa, no... no... era razón para avergonzarse. Entonces yo siempre de niño, que era más callado, no más observaba, y observaba y observaba y observaba. Yo no me daba cuenta de lo que estaba pasando en mí, pero ahora yo, viendo esto, hacía atrás, digo, era como una esponja. De este... nada más chupando todo. Si yo hubiera visto que mi papá se avergonzaba, si hubiera visto que mi papá mentía, si hubiera visto que mi papá... el poco dinero que ganamos él se lo tomaba, o... o llegaba tarde a la casa... lo que sea, yo hubiera visto eso, y así tal vez yo hubiera crecido. No sé. No puedo decir lo que hubiera pasado. Pero sí lo que te puedo es de que no vi nada de eso, y lo que sí vi, ahora lo aprendo y lo partico, y esos princípios pueden ser... con... una persona como Larissa o mi papá. O...

00:31:04

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y eso en los princípios. Que me hicieron un hombre honesto. O sea, puedes transferir a esa misma persona todos los princípios, y no más darle la oportunidad de educación, con eso y los princípios. Puede brillar donde brilla.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Yo no brillo porque yo soy más inteligente que mi papá. Lo hago porque simplemente tuve otras oportunidades que él no tuvo. Entonces todo eso que él es, que yo trato de imitar, simplemente supuesto... es como una semilla. Si te pones una muy buena semilla en un campo, eh... árido, un campo que no... que es seco, no puede dar fruto, pero tomas esa misma semilla, la pones en un campo de este, de tierra fértil, va a dar un fruto increíble. No... no... no... no habla mal de las dos semillas, esta semilla es mejor que ésta, no es que esta semilla no tuvo la oportunidad, pues porque estaba en un campo que no tiene futuro. Esta semilla está, pues, en un gran campo que tiene futuro. Y eso fue lo que pasó con... cuando mi papá venía obviamente no llegó aquí a estudiar, llegó aquí a trabajar.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y tenía un puesto en un campo en el que, lavando carros no tenía a donde crecer, y allí estaba. Eso no quiere decir que no es inteligente. Sin embargo, él lo hizo para que yo, otra semilla, poniéndole ejemplo, fue y se plantaba en un lugar donde... en una universidad, en la escuela, en educación, donde tus val... donde tu... tu... inteligencia es valuada en una manera diferente. Tú liderazgo es evaluado en una manera diferente. Y puedes florecer. Por eso... por eso... es bien importante saber por qué estás creciendo. Es simple saber, ver las oportunidades que me están dando. No es nada más decir, yo soy bien fregón. Porque entonces allí tú te olvides de dónde vienes. Te puedo decir, yo fui plantada en un buen lugar por mis padres. Y fui regado con buen educación. Y fui... *and I was trimmed with good morals. And... and I was given the example, and I was sheltered. And I was taken care of from a young age, as a tree,* vamos a decirlo. *But now I...* Entonces ahora creces, y... das más sombra a otros incluyendo a tus mismos padres. Como te digo, ellos no tienen forma de retirarse financieramente.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:33:02

**Comment:** Esta es la gran ventaja que tuvo Justo en comparación a los otros entrevistados. Su sentido de responsabilidad familiar ha crecido en la medida que reconoce dicha ventaja. Sin embargo, no todos quienes tienen privilegios similares florecen humanamente en la misma forma.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: Pero yo me voy a encargar de esto. Yo estoy seguro que me voy a encargar de esto. Y... y... y Larissa y yo hablamos, y lo mismo lo vamos a hacer con sus papás, ella que creció con la misma mentalidad de la mía, entonces... eso... eso... eso es. Y el... y como te digo, fui plantado en un colegio comunitario donde... eran grandes oportunidades. Y claro, las... la puerta... cuando se te abre una puerta, no... nunca dicen, *the door is open, and the door came to you... and you were standing there, the door passed through you. No. You go through the door. When the table is served,* la comida no (inaudible) la boca. *You go and get it. Ah, and sometimes the table is not served, and sometimes the door is not open. But that's when you go and knock, and that's when you go and look for the food.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: A veces tienes que hacerlo. Y... en el colegio comunitario, graduarme a mí de allí, fue el primer paso a... a alcanzar, es decir... y sí, vamos bien. Para mí es un orgullo. Es un orgullo. Así es (inaudible).

R: Bueno. Tengo mucho que decir, pero no... no puedo.

I: (laughs)

R: (laughs) Eh, vamos a ver. Yo creo que el... si te reitero la pregunta de ¿cuál es el valor de la educación para tí? ya me lo has... indirectamente me lo has dicho... en... en diferentes formas, ¿no? Em... ¿hay alguna otra cosa que... que quieras agregar sobre eso?

I: ¿La educación?

R: El valor de la educación.

I: El valor de la educación. No, pues, nada más. Como te digo, es... es... son oportunidades que te dan. Es un valor... es lo... es lo que... los... los padres inmigrantes vienen buscando para sus hijos aquí.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:34:45

I: Y eso va de vuelta a la primera pregunta que me hiciste de ¿qué significa ser un inmigrante? Para mí, mira, esto no había... ahorita se me están viniendo... el ser inmigrante para mí, es algo totalmente diferente de lo que es ser inmigrante para mi papá. Como para mi papá, para ser inmigrante, él no está pensando y nunca pensó en educación. Él llegó pensando en mi educación y en su trabajo. Pero yo no pienso así. Yo pienso en mi educación, y en la educación de mis hijos, y en... y en apoyar a mis padres también. O sea, nunca te olvides de atrás, siempre te vas adelante, pero ya no es la misma. No... no... e... él, valorando educación, mi papá valora la educación como lo valoro yo. Pero él, al valorar la educación, se sigio el vanguard para que yo creciera. Yo valoro la educación, sin embargo tengo la oportunidad de nada más valorarla, sino practicarla.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: No nada más desearla y trabajar para él que viene después de mí, que sean mis hijos. Lo hago también, sin embargo yo puedo disfrutarlo de esa manera. Y ser inmigrante para él era algo diferente. Y... y cuando tú te consideras un inmigrante, yo no me puedo encerrar en decir esto es ser inmigrante. Eso es ser inmigrante para Justo Carbona Gusto, *Junior*. Sin embargo, a mí mismo, alrededor de mi familia, para mi papá y para mi mamá, el ser inmigrante va a ser totalmente diferente. Para mis hermanos es algo totalmente diferente ser inmigrante.

**Comment:** Education is what immigrant parents are looking for for their children in the U.S.. So part of the "better life" includes better income and better standard of living for the immediate future, as well as education for their children so future generations can continue increasing their standard of living.

**Comment:** This is a nice way of stating how diverse immigrants are, and how each one is an individual. So being an "immigrant" has as many definitions and meanings and connotations as there are immigrants.

**Comment:** This is interesting, and relates to Marina and Jesenia's stories... they recognize that they may never study further, but keep up hope for their children. Justo is this "next generation" and realizes it.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

R: Muy bueno. Muy buen punto.
I: Entonces, ni siquiera puedo decir eso es para mi familia de ser inmigrante, mi perspectiva es totalemente diferente. Sin embargo, el entender las demás, te ayuda a... definir con más seguridad la tuya todavía.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Pero es... sumamente importante... entender la de los demás. Porque tú no puedes asumir que todos... "¿Por qué no estudias? Vamos..." No todos tienen la oportunidad. No todos tienen la oportunidad.
R: Las circunstancias de cada ser humano son diferentes, ¿no?
I: (speaking over) Los seres humanos. Exacto. Exacto.
R: Excelente. Bueno, la siguiente pregunta tiene que ver em... más directamente con... con una de las nociones de esta investigación que estoy haciendo, y específicamente es sobre tu perspectiva, eh, sobre la cuestión de la discriminación y el racismo. ¿Cuándo ves tu própia... tu própia experiencia en este país? Hay personas que son muy sensibles a esa cuestión, hay gentes que ven... eh... discriminación donde no la hay, y hay gentes que.... no la ven cuando sí existe.
00:37:20
I: Sí.
R: Entonces, eh, es algo muy delicado, eh, pero... pero me interesa mucho saber tu experiencia allí.
I: Con discriminación en el sistema educativo, o... en general no más.
R: En general, pero en el sistema educativo, em mayormente, porque...
I: (affirmative noises)
R: ...me iluminas más sobre... sobre lo que... sobre lo que estoy indagando, ¿no?
I: Sí. Mira, yo he visto de... de... de todo tipo. Lo dijiste muy bien tú. Hay personas que... ven cosas donde no hay cosas, eh, sin embargo también hay unos que... que les gusta jugar el papel de que no hay. Y... y he visto de todo. Vi una... una señora, me acuerdo que fui a una... so... fui a verla porque... porque... somos amigos y nos llevamos bien... y era congresista. Y fui a verla porque era la última, de esta... *Town Hall Meeting*... que iba a tener, y me habían perdido todas, y quería yo ir a saludar, entonces... pero era allá en Vail. Era en Vail. Entonces fui. Y... pues, déjame decirte, me senté atrás de una señora que... andaba hablando de los mexicanos como que eran lo peor, y... y... y hablando de las escuelas, que estaban... invadiendo sus escuelas allí, y... y que... los alumnos no eran lo mismo. Te estoy diciendo esto porque... ahorita voy al sistema de... universidad, pero te digo, hasta en el sistema de escuela elemental pasa esto. Primaria. Y (inaudible) hablando de que los veía cruzarse en las noches, que era... algo terrible, decía... Pero si ella tenía accento fuerte, entonces yo dije, me imagino de qué país ha de ser esta señora, ha de ser un país europeo, o... algo así de que... por la razón, por la manera que estaba hablando de... (inaudible). Y veía a su esposo. Y su esposo estaba (inaudible) ella, un hombre alto, rubio. Lo veía por atrás, entonces... dije yo, pues es una pareja, tal vez de fuera de... de otro lado. Y ya, pues, cuando se acabó la sesión que me pare, y era un señor mexicano. Una señora mexicana. Y tenía un acentote. Yo digo que era mexicana porque... la... la reconoces. Y cuando yo pasé en seguida de ella, eh... le dije, "Buenas tardes." Y... se me quedó viendo así como... (inaudible) me dijo,

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

"*Good afternoon.*" Y seguía yo pasando. Pero yo estoy seguro... yo sé... tú sabes esa...
00:39:35
ahora, puede que me (inaudible) que no era mexicana. Tal vez no era.
R: O hispana.
I: Pero...
R: Como... argentina...
I: ...pero mínimo. Era... era de razgos de nosotros. Así lo pongo. Y... no sé, no era mi naturalez, pero ella estaba hablando de los mexicanos como si no era nada. Como si eran basura. Entonces... existe eso en todos lados. Por todo tipo de gente, no solamente... es... otras razas contra nosostros, lamentablamente (clears throat) mucho de ello se ve en nuestra própia gente. Y... y también, y también pasa esto de que... de que el español que yo hablo no es el español más... e, perfecto hazde cuenta porque no... no me lo sé todo eso, y entonces, muchas veces, para hacerte sincero donde... donde peor me han hecho sentir es en el consulado mexicano. Cuando he ido allí, y... uso una palabra, me corrigen. Allí mismo. Me... me dicen así no se dice en español. Está hablando el español mal. "¿Seguro que eres mexicano?" me dicen. Porque soy mexicano y fui a adquerir mi pasaporte mexicano cuando fui a egipto, y... me lo (inaudible) hasta que me... me enojé y... y actué... pues les dije, les dije, "¿Sabes qué? Tengo un viaje, negocio en Egipto y me lo vas a... a trasmitir mi pasaporte porque si no, no... me voy a quejar, y..." Me porté un poco como... no me porto muy comunmente, diciendo tengo un viaje, negocio a Egipto. Eh... iba a la escuela, ¿no? No era precisamente (laughs) negocio de gobierno de Estados Unidos, pero... tenía que hacerlo así porque... les dije, tengo mi mica y... y... pero para un viaje (inaudible), creo que dije, me dijeron, no sé dice, se dice "terrestre". *You know,* discúlpa. Y así me corregían y me corregían. Tú sabes, muchas veces cuando te topas con... gente así, es discriminación al revés también. De tú própia gente, ¿me entiendes? O sea, que... teníamos una broma un amigo y yo que decíamos, "Ni de aquí ni *from there,*" decíamos.
R: (laughs)
*I:* **Ni de aquí ni *from there,* porque de las dos partes te... te atacan muchas veces.** Y entonces... entonces, en la... en la... eso ha sido una de las experiencias personales, ¿no? Em... sin embargo, en la... en la... en lo educativo, ya te conté la experiencia de la vez pasada, esa fue mi experiencia más notoria, yo creo, con la...
00:41:47
*R:* (speaking over) Con la maestra
*I:* ...con aspecto a la maestra esta, con respeto a una discriminación. Em, pero, como te digo, si yo intentara ser una persona... si dices tú... la manera a veces, la vez en no la hay... o no te gusta verla donde sí la hay, yo... yo tiendo a... a darle la gente el beneficio de la duda. Pero... me los... me los catcho. Yo... yo... yo sé de donde vienes. Pero, no voy a perder mi tiempo contigo simplemente. En muchas... en muchas areas. Y por lo tanto... tiendo a... a... inconcientamente... no las dejo pasar esas, pero... pero... hay unas muy obvias. Estaba... estaba en un... un amigo que tenía me invitó, me insistió mucho que fuera a la junta de los... de los *College Republicans. U of A College Republicans.* Y me dijo, no, allí hay mexicanos, y quien sabe... que tenías que ir... no, a propuesto, el muchacho era mexicano de

**Comment:** This is interesting... the Mexican consulate corrects his Spanish when he speaks to them. That, if anything, is extremely damaging to his sense of identity as a Mexicano.

**Comment:** Yes... the web of discrimination is more complex than many realize...

**Comment:** This is a great quote!

**Comment:** Es lamentable que una de las dos experiencias "notorias" de discriminación, o racismo, que Justo reconoce fue infortunadamente en un contexto entre otras personas de origen mexicano.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

Texas de tres generaciones, cuatro generaciones. Inclusive, decía esa historia, cuenta que su papá fue asesinado por un... un... inmigrante que estaba en los Estados Unidos ilegalmente, y... y te digo, imagínate la perspectiva que ha de tener. Entonces en la junta, él y su club estaban allí... estaban allí discutiendo que si... en el... en el sacate de la Universidad de Arizona deberían de poner una... una fuente de agua en tipo burla a la... al agua que ponen en el desierto para la gente que está cruzando. Si por si vamos a andar poniendo agua en el desierto para todos, que dicen, que están aquí ilegalmente, ¿por qué no ponemos una fuente en el medio de la Universidad de Arizona para... para burlarnos de los Demócratas, es lo que decían, que quieren esta famosa fuente. Entonces... (clapping sound)... sea, yo (inaudible) como me estás viendo, o sea me estás viendo que estoy aquí, estás burlándote concientamente de la gente que... que... estamos aquí, pues. Y... y me quejé inmediatamente, y pues... obviamente una gran discución y luego de eso se fue a... *Affirmative Action*, y, pues... imagínate, más discusión todavía. Y luego de eso se fue a educación bilingüe, pues, cállate, ya casi me estaban corriendo de allí. Me... ¿Qué estás haciendo aquí? casi me decían, *too*. Y...

*R:* Es decir, ¿te estaban corriendo del... del.... em, del grupo ese?

*I:* Sí, no... me está... me... sí, porque fuimos a un... a un, de este... em... *Greet and Meet*, se llama. ¿No? (laughing) Fuimos a una pizzería. Y pues, nombre, *Meet and Greet* nada.

*00:*44:06

*R:* (laughing)

*I:* ...*Fight and Argue.* Fue más bien lo que estábamos haciendo allí. Y... y como te digo, es cuando... cuando (inaudible) apenas salía con su argumento... (in airy voice) "¿tú crees...? ¿cómo te sentirías tú si sabes en tu corazón que no te dejaban entrar a algún lugar no más por el color de tu piel?" Y dije yo... pero al final de mi... de mi trayectoria en ese lugar, sé que no fue el color de mi piel. Me saqué (inaudible) que me saqué, (inaudible) que lo ve... es lo que decía. "Sí, sí, sí. Pero... siempre en tu vida vas a cargar esto." Entonces... es su inseguridad, no es mía. ¿Me entiendes? No deben de... Me quejo de eso. O sea, no estoy promoviendo eso, pero tampoco estoy haciendo menos a la gente que lo hace eso. O sea, tienes que respetar la manera que (inaudible). No es (inaudible) allí. Pero, eh... eso fue un...

*R: It's better than economic Affirmative Action when...*

*I:* Sí. Claro.

*R: ...when you are not allowed into a place because of the money of your dad...*

*I:* Exacto. Exacto.

*R: I'm sorry. I'm not supposed to say anything.*

*I: No, no, no.* Pero es cierto. Porque... porque yo le dije, yo le dije... es lo mismo al revés, cuando le pagas más a un Anglo hombre que a una mujer Hispana. Cuando es la misma posición.. ¿Por qué le pagas más? Explícame tú eso a mí. ¿De qué manera puedes explicar ese tipo de discriminación? Es tipo de diferencia. O no me vas a... no me vas a negar que... que muchos puestos políticos son ocupados ahorita por... cosa de familia. De este mismo Goldwater corriendo para... que corrió para gobernador. Sea, ¿cómo crees que llega allí? Por su carisma definitivamente no es. Y por la manera que se ve tampoco. Sea, es por las conecciones que tiene de su familia. Eso se ve en todos lados, ¿no? El... él que lo quiere (inaudible) y queda

**Comment:** Este es el tipo de narrative dominante que adquiere fácil relevancia en los medios y que opaca las historias como la de Justo, que dificilmente obtienen visibilidad.

**Comment:** The impressive thing about Justo is he is not afraid of these confrontations. He understandably could have left the meeting during the water fountain discussion, but he chose to stay and have his point heard.

**Comment:** Justo entiende que existen este tipo de realidades, pero no necesariamente las percibe como "racismo". El conceptote racismo en sí mismo nunca fue discutido entre Justo y el entrevistador.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

isolarlo a los afroamericanos, los hispanos, eso es algo diferente. O que tú tengas problemas de identidad, a este muchacho, pues, obviamente este es otro rollo. Pero... se ve en todos lados. Pero no porque... ¿está bien en todos lados? No pienso que está bien. Entonces, lo vamos a hacer nosotros, y ¿va a ser todo normal? No. El punto es de que nadie lo haga. Pero no podemos quedarnos aquí, ser pisoteados, hasta que tú decías parar de hacerlo.

*R:* Así es.

*00:46:03*

*I:* No puedes estar haciendo eso. ¿Me entiendes? Eso... es.... e.... entonces, hay discriminación. Eh... como te digo, así directa, en el salón (inaudible) nos sentaban atrás por ser hispanos, no. No más cuando llegué aquí a *middle school,* como te digo, me pusieron en clases bilingües, y luego les dieron cuenta que no, pero... pero... cosas así no más.

*R:* Como te mandaron a clases bilingües a pesar de que ya hablabas...

*I:* Sí. Sí.

*R:* ...inglés.

*I:* No me... no me dieron la oportunidad de comprobar que... que lo hablaba. No los profes... no los maestros, sino los... los directores de la escuela. De hecho, traté entrar aquí en la ciudad a *Elite Middle School*, y no me acceptaron porque... me dijeron, ve, toma el exámen, fui, lo tomé, y lo pasé perfectamente bien, pero me dijeron, "*No, no, that´s not enough, and we don´t have bilingual classes at... that you can be integrated in.*" Y mi papá les dijo... mis papás dijeron, "No necesitamos clases bilingües para ellos, si ellos fueron a escuelas bilingües en México." Y... y no. No me dejaron entrar. Entonces por eso me terminé yendo a Utterback. Que era una escuela que tenía muchos... muchas clases bilingües. Y me metieron allí. Y... pues, los profesores me dicían... se dieron cuenta que no necesitaba estar yo allí. Y me dijeron, "¿Te quieres cambiar a una clase normal?" Y pues, este año yo apenas estaba haciendo amigos, entonces dije "No," dije, "me quiero quedar aquí." Y ya el segundo año ya... ya me pasaron. En octavo grado me pasaron a clases...

R: Regular.

I: ... regulares. Y... normal, o sea, no... no... no hubo ningún problema. Cositas así que... hay gente que asume ciertas cosas de ti, en el colegio una vez, me dieron un diploma que... que me pusierson *Justice Caravillo.* Y le dije... le dije a Doug Opstein, le dije... le dije, "*Well, thank you.*" le dije, "*for...*" ya depués, no en la ceremonia. Pasó, ¿no?, y... después fui, y le dije, "*You know what, Doug?*" dije, "*Thanks. Thanks for the certificate.*" "*Oh, you´re welcome.*" Le dije, "*But my name´s not Justice,*" *le dije.* "*Uh, my name´s Justo,*" le dije. "*It´s not a big deal, but if, you know, if you have an extra one, if you could just type it in.*" Y me dijo, "*Oh, come on. We´re Americanizing you,*" me dijo. Entonces le dije yo, "*Well, you know, all right,*" le dije, "*but I don´t need to be Americanized,*" le dije, "*If it´s too much to ask,*" le dije, "*you can just keep this,*" le dije. "*It´s fine.*" le dije.

R: *Good for you.*

00:*48:06*

I: "*I don´t really need it,*" le dije. "*But if you have a chance, you can just write Justo on it, I´d really appreciate it.*" Y me dijo, "*Okay.*" me dijo. "*I respect that,*" me dijo. "*All right. Yeah.*" Ahora me dio otro... otro diploma que decía Justo

**Comment:** Yes, this is a case of prejudice. They automatically assumed he did not speak English. It apparently never even occurred to them to ask.

**Comment:** This is interesting. It would be interesting to know what his score was on the exam. His English was obviously better than many kids who immigrate here for the first time. Was it really too low for "Elite"? Was it a question of just needing a bit more exposure to U.S. culture? Or were they really making a decision based on his race? In this way, he was given a chance to "prove" his English, but it was in the form of a test rather than a real classroom situation. It also would be interesting to see the exam they used, and to examine the influence of cultural bias written into the exam, etc...

**Comment:** Translation: That school had a lot of Hispanics. And the schools with a lot of Hispanics do not tend to be the best schools. The school where Justo was "placed" could have had an effect on him as it probably does on other students. Obviously Justo is doing quite well, but this appears to be possible thanks to his own internal drive, instilled and cultured by his family. Obviously not all students have that advantage.

**Comment:** Then he was given a chance to change to regular classes, but it looks like they asked him personally, as a boy... rather than asking his parents. So he stayed because of his friends, not because it was a better educational decision.

**Comment:** In situations like this, "jokes" about identity and "Americanizing" people are extremely crass. This was a very insensitive and inappropriate remark.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

Caravillo. Entonces me dijo muy a broma, ¿no? A... él se casó con una mexicana inclusive, ¿no? De este, él no es así, pero lo dijo muy bromista. Y por eso no... no me... ofendí, dije... "Ah, voy a llamar a... la policía aquí. Discriminación... el güero racista que..."

R: (laughing)

I: No, sino que yo entiendo que... muchos son así, como... juguetones, pero no se dan cuenta cuando eso... cuando eso ofende. Por ejemplo, tuve que quedar con las muchachas cuando apenas entré a (inaudible), había unas muchachas que eran las presidentas, y eran güeras de... de este.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y... y luego, ellas... su dicha broma era muy... *You're in America, speak English.* O... *You're in America now, speak English.* Cosas así. Más cuando (inaudible) con mis amigos. Y luego, me tuve que sentar anoche con ellas, y dije, "Es que (inaudible) a ustedes," les dije. "No..." me dijeron... les digo, "Es ofensivo eso que ustedes dicen." Y luego me dicen, "¿Pero, por qué es ofensivo? Si es una broma," dicen, "es que..." "No quiero tener que explircarlo, pero, *bottom line,"* les dije, "Mira," le dije, "Cuando... tú tienes una... puede que la misma frase para tí no significa nada. Pero para la gente que le estás diciendo, tiene un... Sus... sus abuelos, fueron abusados físicamente con esa frase. Sus abuelos fueron abusados psicológicamente con esa frase. Los míos no, le digo. Yo... yo vine de México. Para mí esa frase de hecho no significa... no tiene un significado profundo en que me atacas. Pero para personas nacidas aquí, cuando tú les dices, "*You're an American, speak English now."* Eso trae recuerdos. Y hay historia que (inaudible) con esa frase. Cuando agarraban y luego golpeaban maestros a alumnos. Hay un pasado oscuro detrás de... de cuando se usaba esa frase. Tú tienes que aprender de que esa frase es ofensiva para muchas personas. Cuando tú dices, "*We're Americanizing someone,"* le.... le digo, "Para empezar, es una frase ignorante.

00:50:03

Pero no eres una persona que parece ignorante. You're Americanized. Estamos en un continente que se llama América, no un país que se llama América." ¿Me entiendes? "Tú... tú usas estes frases de que... ¿por qué la gente habla español en Estados Unidos? ¿Por qué se habla el español? Por la misma razón que tú hablas inglés en México. Porque es tu idioma. Es tu idioma natal." Entonces, yo soy muy de... de que hay que ver lo mejor en la persona, y no más me senté y le expliqué. Y cambiaron perfectamente bien las dos muchachas. ¿Me entiendes? Tenían otra amiga que decía, "Güeras racistas, hijas de aquí hijas de allá, que ni les voy a hablar esto de que..." Y está bien que se enoja porque tiene razón para enojarse. Pero dije yo, les voy a dar oportunidad. Y si ellas van a seguir de esa manera, yo también (inaudible) de decir, "¿Sabes qué? Prefiero no juntarme contigo porque... me estás faltando al respeto a mí y a lo que yo represento." No... tampoco soy masoquista que me la llevo... "pégame dos cachetadas para seguir siendo tu amigo." Pero, simple tomar ese tiempo y decirle a la persona...

R: Más vale ser puente que ser pared, ¿no?

I: Sí, exacto. Exacto. Buen... buen dicho. Sí. Entonces allí nomás expliqué que, dije, "Es ofensivo. No más te voy a decir así, y... te... y esta es la razón por la que es ofensivo, como tú dices, es lo que significa para las personas. Y eso es lo que puede

**Comment:** So in the end Doug did the right thing, and Justo recognized that it was just a poor joke. Tact and good taste cannot always be taught...

**Comment:** He has a point. It's a bit like making light of anti-Jewish jokes in Nazi Germany. These subjects should be treated with the respect they deserve.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

significar," entonces me dijeron, me acuerdo muy bien que me dijeron, "*Wow. I never looked at it that way.*" Y ellas regresaron acá y, me acuerdo, con una... una muchacha, amiga de esa, y ella decía... y le dijo, "*No, don't say that.*" le dijo. "*I'll explain to you later,*" le dijo a la muchacha. Entonces dije yo, bueno... me gusta que las personas... agarren la onda así. Que sí ha habido, pero la manera que... era... yo pienso que... ella fue... frenando esas, como con Doug por ejemplo, luego le dije, "*Oh no you didn't!*" *You know,* Y cosas así de que... *You just called me Justice?*" *Oh, no.* Si puedes, Doug, traémelo con Justo. Si no, te puedes quedar con tu diploma. Está bien conmigo. No necesito tu diploma, gracias. Tú sabes como que... "*Oh, I respect that. Okay.*" Y allí nunca me decía más *Justice* de vuelta. Wendy McFee era igual. Wendy McFee. Ella tiene la perspectiva bien. No sé si tú la has conocido a ella.

R: ¿Quién es ella?

00:51:55

I: Wendy McFee se llamaba ella.

R: No...

I: Ella era una señora ya mayor. Eh, trabajaba en *Student Development* bajo el Dr. Jameson. Una señora bastante peculiar. Y...

R: (inaudible)

I: ...y... y este... tenía tendencias y comentarios más que nada... a decir cosas así. Pero... pero ella me dijo, una vez me dijo... "*You changed my whole perspective of... um... of Mexicans,*" me dijo ella. Me dijo, me dijo, "*You're something I didn't know before.*" Me dijo, "*And you're different.*" Me dijo, "*You're different than...*" Y ella me empezó decir porque era... una mujer, de iglesia cristiana. Me decía, "*You're a blessing, and God sent you here to...*" me decía, "*God sent you here to show me a different side of life.*" Ella me decía. Y ella fue que la que me editó todos mis papeles cuando yo... yo estaba al punto de irme. Y me acuerdo muy bien porque cuando me editaba eses papeles para *CHCI* eran papeles que tenía que escribir con respeto a identidad hispana. Ella me editaba, y me... me quitaba mi cultura... como dice mi papá, pero yo apreciaba su esfuerza, y nada más tomaba los consejos gramáticos y... y el resto lo dejaba.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Pero... pero es siempre... es el intento de poder ver lo mejor de las personas. Y nada más agarrar eso, y lo que no... lo (inaudible) de un lado. Pero... dices tú, esa persona tiene esto bueno. Y eso tiene parte de ser inmigrante. Tiene parte de... siempre ver lo mejor de las cosas. Y eso tambien tiene parte en... en lo que está sucediendo en la discriminación en las... en las... en total. Porque si nos basáramos en la discriminación siempre... Oof. ¿en dónde estuviéramos ahorita? Estuviéramos abajo de un agujero, llorando y... nada. Porque está en todas partes. No se niega. Sin embargo, ¿vas a enfocarte en esa? ¿o vas a enfocarte en lo... en donde no hay? ¿Qué te va a causar a tí discriminación? Luchar más fuerte y ver lo mejor en las personas es lo que me... me causó a mi. Lo hay. Lo hay. Lo he experimentado en todos niveles, en la universidad hasta como te digo, *Middle School.* Entré ahí en la comunidad mexicana. Hasta como la comunidad aquí, que a veces no soy raza suficiente para... para la misma gente, muchos estudiantes que he visto de aquí, no soy lo suficiente...

**Comment:** So for Justo, being an immigrant requires a certain amount of optimism even in the face of obstacles, racism, etc... he always looks for the best in people, even when they are being racist or obtuse. This, he says, is part of what it means to be an immigrant.

**Comment:** He also says that discrimination is everywhere. It's useless to dwell on it and cry, because it gets you nowhere. You just have to push forward and fight it where you can, one person at a time if necessary.

**Comment:** Right... he is in the situation that many are in, where they are judged and discriminated against from all sides... the Anglos, the Mexicanos, the Chicanos... he doesn't fit anywhere.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

---

00:54:01
R: O sea, que ni en una ni en la otra...
I: No, como te digo, mi amigo lo decía así, "**Ni de aquí ni *from there***." Decíamos. ¿Me entiendes? (laughing) Entonces, así está.
R: Excelente. Bueno. Esa... esa es muy buena respuesta porque me da una idea más... más clara de tu... de tu historia. Y luego la pregunta muy... muy fundamental... ¿Qué eres? O, ¿Qué te consideras cuando... cuando piensas en identidad? ¿Mexicano, mexicano-americano, latino, hispano, chicano...?
I: Em... no me molesta el término "hispano" a mí, como a muchas personas les molesta. Te cuento una historia rápido. Estaba en una conferencia de... de Mecha en Texas, y... estaban dos personas discutiendo... em... (clears throat)... conferencia nacional...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Estaban discutiendo que si... que si ponían militares en la frontera o no. Y entonces uno era... era militar. Y otro no... pues, no era. Y estaba otro... y todo el resto del grupo estaba allí, no, que la peor... de este decisión. Y luego el militar dijo, "¿Sabes qué? Pues, la administración había tomado la decisión," y empezó explicar porqué. Y se empezaban a hechar de alguna manera que crees que estabas viendo... una pandilla en la calle... (inaudible) Pero los (inaudible) en su asiento, hasta que el hombre militar le dijo, "*You know what?*" le dijo, "*You´re nothing but a Hispanic,*" le dijo. Ooooh... Eso fue lo peor que le pudieran decir. Entonces se levantó el militar, empezaron a agarrarse a golpes allí. Tomó que dijera "*You´re nothing but a Hispanic,*" para que se parara. Y... le había hechado de todo. Te digo, de todo le había hechado. De su familia, de su... de... él, de como se veía... hasta ocurre sacar de uno del otro... horrible. Pero estaba en su asiento... tranquilo, sí, medio alterado del asunto, caliente, pero... lo que (inaudible) explotar todo fue cuando el otro le dijo, "*You knjow what?*" dijo, "*You´re nothing but a Hispanic,*" le dijo.
R: *Did he say Hispanic? Or did he say "Spic" or...*
I: No, *Hispanic* le dijo. *You´re nothing but a Hispanic.* Y entonces, cuando pasó eso, le dije, *what did I miss?* Para mi, no... no sabía... no sabía ni qué onda había pasado allí. Le dije yo, ¿qué...?
R: (affirmative noises)
00:56:12
I: ¿Por qué le insultó tanto? O sea, ¿qué le ofendió tanto? Y... había un... un muchacho que iba allí que... que él me enseñó todo el lado... el lado Chicano...
R: (affirmative noises)
I: ...más bien. Porque viendo de México no... no respetas mucho el... la cultura y la identidad Chicana porque no creces en ello y... cuando haces un pochismo, dices, ¿esta es chicanada? No, no. Te dices algo, y allí estás Chicano, y cosas por el estilo.
R: Porque hay una especie de... sentimiento de disprecio...
I: Sí, sí, claro.
R: ...allí en México, ¿no?
I: En México hacía la gente...
R: Que no... que no entiende que...
I: (inaudible)

**Comment:** This is interesting. There are people who prefer Latino to Hispanic, or Mexican-American, or Chicano... or whatever. But here, it seems like the Military guy may not even have known that the term "hispanic" was particularly perjorative for the MECHA crowd. He may have been implying that, as a "hispanic" in general, this audience member would of course be against any kind of wall on the border. Of course, the military guys said it in a perjorative manner... but he may have had no idea at all of the full implications of his choice of words.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

R: ... eh... eh... no es simplemente una cultura, sino una experiencia social...
I: Sí.
R: ...en Estados Unidos.
I: Llegó un tiempo que pasó que... que carga ahora, y que gente... todavía se identifica con eso.
R: (affirmative noises)
I: Pero yo no me identifico como un Chicano. Sin embargo, no... no veo abajo a eso. No digo, ¡Qué asco... chicano! como ... como muchos mexicanos los hacen. He escuchado, le digo... no... no... digo no más de asunción. He escuchado. Entonces, el término Hispano no me hace brincar de mi asiento para golpear a alguien, definitivamente. No... eh, sé que dicen es un término que el gobierno puso a nosotros y... y no debemos de aceptarlo. Em... también yo pienso que hay ciertos... por ejemplo, me acuerdo muy bien que decía... Mecha no... no es un club. Es un movimiento, decían. Pero cuando era hora de declarar para que te diera dinero student government, entonces se convirtió en un club, porque requerían ser llamado "club" para... no apoyamos movimientos. Apoyamos *clubs*.
R: (clears throat)
I: Entonces sí, eran un club. ¿Me entiendes? Y por ejemplo, cuando... no, no, no... *I'm... uh..* soy panameño, soy mexicano, yo no soy hispano. Soy esto y aquello... pero cuando acaba de distribuir... solo se distribuye dinero a ciertos grupos... para... para becas, o para lo que sea, cuando acaba de distribuir... solo se distribuye dinero a ciertos grupos... para... para becas, o para lo que sea, *you want to do the Hispanic scholarship fund* para que le llega a todos...
R: (affirmative noises)
00:57:57
I: ...porque no es un *Mexican scholarship fund, Panamanian scholarship fund, Costa Rican Scholarship fund...* no agarras nada de dinero. Entonces, para eso... sí está bien ser Hispano. Para becas. Pero... entonces... ¿me entiendes? Por eso digo yo, yo no tengo problema con el término Hispano si tú... si dices tú, *the Hispanic community in the city. I'm fine with that. Are you part of the Hispanic community? Yes, I am. Are you part of the Latino community? Yeah, I am. Are you part of the Mexican-American community? Yes, I am.* Cuando me preguntan a mí. Entonces, *well, what are you?* Tú, ¿Qué te consideras? *Are you... are you* Mexicano? *Or are you Mexican? Which one are you?* Hasta... porque hasta eso diferencían, también. Lo... lo escribes con equis, o lo escibes con... sea... *how... how... how do you do it? You know.* ¿Le pones el acento a México cuando lo escribes en el idioma inglés? ¿O no más lo pones? Tantas cositas. ¿Me entiendes? Yo digo que yo soy mexicano-Americano. *Or Mexican-American.* Ahora, ¿por qué? Porque... nací en México. No hay duda de eso que nací en una ciudad mexicana. De este... he naturalizado aquí, que he vivido aquí, me he hecho la cultura de aquí. Y además, dicen *too... Yeah, but Mexican-Americans are the ones that... that are born from Mexican parents in this... in this country. Well, why is that, if Mexico is America as well?* Yo soy mexicano, nací en México, puedo ser llamado mexicano-americano. No...
R: Técnicamente.
I: Técnicamente. Puedo ser llamado así. O sea, que... descubrí que eso es el término más... que me identifico, y más seguro también porque me puedo defender en el

**Comment:** So he is not Chicano...

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

aspecto que me ven... sin haber nacido aquí. Sí, pues, soy nacido en México. México es en América. O si... o si... si... si quieres verlo de punto de vista de hay que ser ciudadano aquí, también. Como soy ciudadano de México. En México nací. Estaba doce años en México. Doce años aquí, estoy en la mera mitad. Tengo derecho de ser Mexico-Americano. ¿Me entiendes? Entonces, *so*, yo me considero *Mexican-American.* Ahora, si me llamo Chicano, podría ser eso con el término que menos me identifico yo. Sin embargo, como lo demás me... eh... me dicen, eh, *Are you a chicano?* No les digo, *Oh, heck no.* No, les digo, no, no, no. *I consider myself Mexican-American. But I see a lot of value in the Chicano...*

00:59:57

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *...uh, movement, back in the sixties and... and... much of the rights that we have now are because of that movement. So I respect it. You know? I admire it. I mean, it took guts to do what ... you did back then. What people did back then.*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Hay... hay cosas que deben cambiar. Ya no estamos en *Walk-outs* ni nada por el estilo, como muchos (inaudible) hay otras maneras de... hacer las cosas. Pero... todo moviemento, y todo... toda cultura, y cada persona, de la manera que se identifica, se identifica por una razón muy válida yo pienso.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Y... y no critico nada de eso. Pero si me preguntan en... en... Washington, por ejemplo, es Latino. Para todo es Latino. No... no... allá no hay *Hispanic.*

R: ¿Y qué piensas de eso?

I: Y es ofensivo para muchos. Es como te digo, el término *Hispanic* es ofensivo para muchos.

R: Sí. Sí.

I: Em... para mí no. Inclusive, yo si iba... cuando estaba allá, estaba con Grijalva, y... y la verdad yo no había escuchado mucho aquí Latino. Yo en la verdad tiendo a escuchar *Hispanic.* Y dije "no, en esta ciudad la verdad yo escucho casi siempre *Hispanic."* Una de su *staff*, Gemma se llama, de la oficina de Grijalva, me dijo, "No, no somos eso." Porque hace ver mal a Grijalva que use Hispanic. Y yo lo escuchaba decir Hispanic cuando está aquí dando discursos. Él dice Hispanic. Él no dice Latino aquí. Pero allá dice Latino. Que allá es lo que dicen. Y aquí es lo que dicen aquí.

R: (laughs) Es un cameleón político, ¿no?

I: Oh, es... no te imagines... lo que es. Pero su *staffer* me brincó... *not... not all Arizonans say that, Justo, because, you know, it can be offensive to some people.* Y yo me quedo, "Tu jefe..." (mumbling)...mejor no nos metemos allí.

R: (laughing)

01:01:30

I: Pero... ¿qué pienso de eso? Como te digo, se me hace simplemente, chistoso. Y allá, muchas veces, no... no estaban de acuerdo porque yo dijera *Hispanic.* No lo decía para ofender a nadie. Por ejemplo, tuve que escribir un *policy brief* de... de... *blank homeownership. Is that Latino or Hispanic homeownership?*

R: (affirmative noises)

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

I: Y me dijeron, *you have to pick one. Is it Hispanic or Latino homeownership? What do you want to say?* Pues, me calle porque todos los... *how are you going to say Hispanic?* Y luego todos los... los... los de *Hispanic* era, Latinos, como, me decían... y bien guerrillero, eso es como Latino... *you can't say Latin-O.* Tienes que pronunciarlo como español. Entonces esta gente piensa que como que estás diciendo algo en español en inglés, y te sale una palabra en español, *there's a...* que le digas en español la digas bien como bien guerrillero así. O sea, por ejemplo, la... la Paloma, el hotel.

R: Muy militante.

I: Sí, muy militante. Ándale. Yo me... como que... como que, *Yeah, okay, I'm gonna' have the wedding at (speaking with a Spanish pronunciation)* La Paloma. ¿Me entiendes? Güey, ¿cálmate! (inaudible) ¿me entiendes? Porque dices *(with an English accent) La Paloma.* Ya como que... ay, tantas cositas que hay entre de todo eso. Entonces Latino, como que te... fuerza pronunciarlo. ¿Me entiendes? Porque no puede decir, <La-tay-no>, <Látino>, no puede decir nada de eso. Entonces tienes que decirlo así. En cambio, *Hispanic* es en inglés. Y... y fluye. Entones era todo eso, cómo te identificas tú más y no sé que...

R: Es una espécia quizá de discriminación lingüística. No.. que no es perciptible... pero...

I: Exacto.

R: ...pero que también está allí de alguna forma.

I: Sí. Sí. Y que... y que muchas veces, tú identificas a la persona que dice, no, pues, **Latino es más... *that's the safest one, because that's a geographic term. You know, it's Latin America.*** *Not... not really Hispanic-speaking. Um...*

R: *So you... you used Latino.*

I: *I ended up using Latino. Yeah. I ended up using Latino for that purpose, because it was geographic, and...*

*01:03:24*
(recording ends)

Comment: La castificación del lenguaje...

## Interview VI – Part V – 00:18:05

I: Algo... algo, cuando llegué aquí por ejemplo, con eso de Chicano, me acuerdo que una vez, "Para ti, ¿qué significa el Sí se puede?" Pues, sí... pues,... no sé... ¿qué estás referiendo? Sea, nada. Sea. Para ellos, César Chávez y el "Sí, se puede" era loa máximo. Para mí una porra de fútbol es lo que era. (chanting) "Sí, se puede. ¡Sí se puede!" Es todo que era. Yo no sabía como identificar, ¿me entiendes? Pero para gente sí, es tanto para ellos aquí. Que como te digo, para mi también, y que me decían... "*Speak English, you're in America now.*" Para mi eran, ... *yeah, I mean,* yo le dijera a alguién, "Eh, habla español. Estás en México compa." Sea, no es... es problema, ¿me entiendes? Cuando... cuando se identific... para México es tan... es como decir, allí en seguida de ese hijo que está allí, allí, espera... allí espera, allí. Pero con la gente aquí, "*Yeah, right next to that Mexican right there. Yeah, right to the left.*" Sea, para mi no le tengo que decir porque sea yo... es algo que yo digo,...

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

es algo que yo digo, *Yeah,* o sea, *I am a Mexican with, you know,* ¿Cuál es el problema? *That is a Mexican, that is a person with a red shirt.* No era tan... no era tan así, pues, no era disco tan... nunca me han dijo, "Tú eres un discriminante por hacer esto. Conocí en la escuela... que estaba allí un señor que era maestro de quinto grado que era... era anglo. Y pues, de... ni el nombre sabíamos, el Profe Gringo es como le decíamos. Todo (inaudible). Entonces... al llegar aquí, entonces las diferencias como que no eran... para mi ofensivas. Sin embargo, al entender yo las raíces de esas cosas es cuando yo empecé ya a entender por qué para muchos de ellos era ofensiva. Y no me lo tomaba yo como ofensivo como muchos podían tomarse, sin embargo no... me gustaba... no porque a mí me afectaba sino porque... muchas veces sé con el... propósito que la persona las decían.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:01:40

I: ¿Me entiendes? Cuando preguntaban qué significa para tí "Sí se puede" eso no me supe qué contestar porque no sabía que era.

R: ¿Qué significa para ti...?

I: Sí se puede. ¿Te acuerdas que me decían..? Yo no sabía qué era eso. Cuando me preguntaban... ¿cómo te identificas con César Chávez? Lo primero que se me ocurría es que simplemente fue un boxeador. Julio César Chávez. No... no... no, el... el... no el boxeador, pero el... ¿cómo se dice en...?

R: *The leader of the United Farm Workers...*

I: Sí Andale. *The United Farm Workers* (inaudible). Todo eso, no... no se venía a la mente. Entonces, hemos tenido que aprender muchas cosas cuando ven... cuando hemos venido aquí, no nada más sea como inmigrante, aprendes un estilo de vida diferente. También aprendes a respetar cosas diferentes. Aprendes apreciar cosas diferentes. Y te aprendes a identificar... de maneras diferentes con personas que nunca pensaste que te fueras a identificar. Si a mi papá le hubieran dicho... o a mí inclusive, tú te vas a... vas a apreciar cosas de los Chicanos, yo les hubiera dicho, pues no conozco nada de ellos. Pero estando uno aquí, no puede venir con la mentalidad de decir, "Soy mexicano y de aquí no me muevo." Sea, como tú... como estaba platicando, tenemos amigos en todos los rangos. Tengo amigos... inclusive, republicanos de hueso colorado que... que... para ellos es todo el inmigración fuerte y... esto y aquello... pero hay al... hay cosas... que me podían decir...

R: (inaudible)

00:02:59

I: (inaudible)... en las que combinamos, ¿me entiendes? Y yo sí he tenido esas conversaciones con ellos. Eh... me invitaron a cenar hace poquito... estaban en una cena y estábamos conversando de que si... me dice... "No te imagino," me dice este señor, eh, como Republicano, y luego me dice, "No te imagino (inaudible)... perteneces más acá. Pero perteneces más allá." Estaban platicando... y... y ya cerrados en debatir conmigo en ciertos puntos, le dije, "*We just have to agree that we disagree on that,*" le digo. "*It's fine that... I'm not trying to convincing you... I'm not doing that. It's just... what do you think about this?* Y luego... oy, ya empezaban a decir que... *well, well, let's share that. I'm not... I'm not against debating. No...* porque... *there's a value in debating. But I'm not looking for debate either. I'm not... I'm not... I'm not, whenever I see someone that's like...* por

**Comment:** El desarrollo inevitable de una perspectiva más critica sobre categorizaciones raciales en USA.

**Comment:** He is talking about acculturation here...

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

ejemplo, allá había, en Washington, (laughing) había una muchacha que estaba diciendo, nuestros viernes siempre nos juntábamos a las diez de la mañana y teníamos juntas, y decía una muchacha, y decía... decía alguien... "*These meetings are getting too boring. Let's uh...*" Y nos traían *speakers* buenos y platicamos... Unas estaban aburridas y otras no. Pero decía la muchacha, "*I know what we need... we need debate. We should just come here with issues and just fight over them. Let's just debate over them. There's value in debate.*" Yo estoy de acuerdo en eso pero... .... mi mejor manera de pasar mis viernes en la mañana no era pelearme con otras personas, o sea, que hay temas que no voy a... no voy a cambiar su mentalidad. ¿Me entiendes?

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Entonces dije yo, "*You know what? I'll pass on that. I mean, uh, we can talk about issues and debate. But I don't want to spend our Friday mornings...*

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *...just fighting against... I mean...* no hay... a veces no hay valor en eso. Y cuando... pero cuando encuentras esa... esa cosa (inaudible) pues, (inaudible) de acuerdo. Y específicamente hablando de las culturas. Es... tu... *Is there value in being Hispanic? I think that there is. Is there value in being Latino? Yes, there's pride in that. I mean, even when you say it, Latino, it just makes you... feel different. Chicano is a whole different issue on that end. Do you see value in that? Yes, I mean the...* el valor... la... la.. el orgullo, por fin alguien se paró y dijo "Soy esto, ¿y qué?" ¿Me entiendes? Y yo soy igual que tú, entonces... hay mucho en todo.

00:05:01

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Hay mucho en todo que... que... debemos de apreciar. Entonces... curiosamente me digo que soy Mexican American cuando... cuando tengo que... tengo que escoger.

R: Definirte.

I: Sí. Cuando tengo que definirme, me... me... me identifico como Mexican American.

R: (affirmative noises) Qué bueno. Bueno. Em... a ver, ¿dónde estamos? Me salí yo también por el tangente un poquito. (exhales) Tu principal objectivo en la vida.

I: (inhales) Hm... Yo creo con todo mi corazon que... como te digo, los... lo... familia es muy importante en mi vida. Eh, el deporte (inaudible) tiene una (inaudible) en mi vida. Y la fe ha sido importante en mi vida. Y si yo no creyera que todos estamos... y hablando de mí específicamente, porque yo sé que no todos piensan así y... pero hablando de mí específicamente, que yo creo, personalmente, que yo estoy aquí con un propósito divino. Como... creo, o que la persona lo crea o no, eso ya es personal...

R: Claro.

I: Creo que cada persona... venimos aquí. Y... te digo, creo que cada persona, no por decir... yo Justo soy un divino. No. Yo creo que mi papá, creo que mi mamá... creo que... yo creo que... que... venimos con un propósito. Y con... y para cumplir algo. Y lo que... y lo que yo le llamo es... es... es la voluntad... la voluntad de Dios en mi vida. Eso es como... es como yo lo tendía de definir. Y... la voluntad de Dios en general... yo sé que es bueno. Yo sé que son planes buenos. Dice... dice mi novia, dice, son planes buenos. Dice tiene planes para tí para prosperarte, para bendecirte. Yo sé que eso es el... plan que Dios tiene para mí. Ahora, el hecho que Dios tiene

ese plan para mí, no define que lo voy a vivir. Porque como te he dicho, tengo yo que... ir a alcanzar este plan, y encontrar ese plan. No es fácil... no me viene Dios, te hace algo, y pum, vas así. Es una caminada constante.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:07:06

I: Es como la educación. No... no porque eres inteligente naces con un doctorado. Tienes... tú sabes (laughing) que tienes que trabajar hacía el. Tienes que encontrar qué vas a hacer con él. Y todos tienen la potencial para recibir... lo pienso yo. No... no soy alguien que nació... tú sabes, para eso. Es lo mismo con eso. Mi principal objectivo en mi vida es... es... cumplir el propósito específico por el que vine yo, creo. Basado en Dios. Basado en... en un propósito divino. Y ese... ese... y es en diferentes áreas. Y eso no siempre quiere decir... muchos dicen... (exhales)... yo... yo... crecí en la iglesia cristiana. Eh, (inaudible) como los once años. Y era muy común en ese tiempo todavía... decían... "¿qué vas a hacer para Dios?" me decían. "Tienes una habilidad para hablar. ¿Por qué no eres un pastor? ¿Por qué no eres un evangelista?" Y... y... y me gustaba esto a mí. Sin embargo, yo no sentía que había estado llamado a esa area. Entonces, yo decía... yo... yo buscaba... en oraciones buscaba yo, decía... ¿era posible que yo puedo servirte a tí? le decía, ¿en una area que no... que no está dentro de la iglesia? ¿Me entiendes? Que no sea como un sacerdote o... pastor, o...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...algo por el estilo. Y mucha gente... en la iglesia o no, ni le hace, pero... había una diferencia entre... tu vida y la iglesia. O sea... eres religioso o no eres religioso. Puedes ir a la iglesia, pero... (inaudible)... entonces, yo he encontrado que... que eso... que eso no es cierto que no hay una diferencia. Yo he encontrado que... yo tengo que... puedo hacer la voluntad de Dios, puedes tú hacerla, y ser tan buen cristiano como... alguien completamente metido en la iglesia... en.. en una rama de la vida diferente. Por ejemplo que... por ejemplo, sin (inaudible) esa... quieres poner una iglesia (inaudible)... que lo dije, (inaudible) un buen pastor... ¿sabes? Gente que ayude, pero ¿qué necesitas? Un edificio. ¿Cómo consigues este edificio? Con dinero. No lo consigues nada más por que sí. Entonces, ¿quién es esa persona que gana ese dinero para construir eso?

R: Así es.

I: Pienso yo que tan importante es la persona que aportó dinero para hacerlo como la persona que lo dirige. Porque uno fue llamado para andar dándose ese dinero para el evangelio. Otro fue llamado para dirigir esa obra. Otro fue llamado para tal vez empezarla, y ir a otra ciudad y empezar otra y viajar a otro dirigiéndo allí. Entender el rol de cada uno.

R: (affirmative noises)

00:09:26

I: Entonces yo tenía que entender mi rol. Tenía que entender... ¿por qué vine aquí? ¿Cuál es mi objectivo? ¿Para qué estoy viviendo? Para... para... para tener más títulos... para tener más esto... y a una temprana edad, trece, catorce años, te puedo decir que yo buscaba esto. Yo buscaba un propósito... que tiene mi vida. Y... y yo entendí que... que... que... que dirirás (inaudible) dónde yo podía estar. En lo que yo podía... bendecir a personas. Y no precisamente con... predicarles y... andarles

**Comment:** La religiosidad es un elemento constante en la vida de Justo, pero nunca se ha dejado envolver totalmente en ella. Su interés político y su avidez por decubrir el mundo son muy intensos para permitirle dedicarse solamente a las labores espirituales. No obstante, su fe ocupa un lugar predominante en su vida.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

diciendo, "Eh, ah... arrepiéntate... haz esto..." No, no, no. Es un estilo de vida. Cuando... Yo, por ejemplo, siempre que salimos a esto y aquello, no tomo. Entonces, dicen, "¿Cómo te puedes divirtir y no tomar?" me dicen. "¿Cómo... cómo puedes hacer esto? O sea, ¿nunca te habías emborrachado?" "No," le digo, "Nunca me había..." "¿Y por qué...? O sea, ¿es contra tu religión?" "No es contra mi religión. Es decisión personal." Mi papá no lo hacía, yo no lo hago. Eh. simplemente no lo necesito para divertirme. Y entonces eso... siempre que... y iba con amigos a... a... a barras aquí. Pero simplemente así me tomaba una Pepsi dieta con una cereza. Esa era mi bebida. Y... y lo bueno es que a todos les encantaba disparame. Yo no sé por qué razón, pero encontraron un goze de disparar a mi soda, de dieta con mi cereza. (laughing) Y con limón también me ponían a veces. Entonces, eh, "*Justo, I got the next one. I got the next one! Let me know!*" me decían. Y quién sabe... Entonces... eh... dicen, "¿Cómo te puedes divertirte?" Y siempre me decían, "Eh... *What fulfills your life?*" me decían. Y más que nada ya cuando estaba relajado me caía todo, y que... y que... hablaban de... todas sus aventuras con muchachas y cosas por el estilo, y... yo no. Pues, yo no. Eh... "¿Vives con tu novia?" "No, no." Y... cosas por el estilo. Cosas que...

R: (affirmative noises)

I: ...nada más yo decidí personalmente no hacer. No por religión, no por nada. Mis amigos... decían... *"What fulfills your life? What ... what fills you inside?"* me decían, *"What makes you happy?"* me decían. *"You don't drink. You don't party. You don't smoke anything... you know, you're not out there... just... you know, just being wild..."* me decían... *"What... what... you're twenty-one..."* me decían. *"What makes your life... you know... personal? What makes you happy?"* Y les decía... decía... les decía... "*There's this... thing in having a relationship with God,*" les decía, "*that... it doesn't... it's not a sacrifice not have it (sic). I don't need it.*" le digo. "*And... I'm not saying, I don't drink today, I'm not going to drink. I just don't even think about it. Because I'm fulfilled in all my life.*" les decía. *"I found something that I can... hold dear to me and that I know it's not going to fail me.*

R: (affirmative noises)

00:11:55

I: *I know...*" Y me dicen... me dicen, "*You're job is pretty secure, huh, at the University?" "Well, I think it's secure, but... we can go to war, we can get bombed, and it's not there tomorrow. Eh, anything can happen. But when you find something that... God is not going to go anywhere I don't think." And... and to me, that's what keeps me going every day. And... and... and being able to say today, my objective in my life is going to do... to... to do your mission.* Y lo bueno es de que... nunca... la misión esa... yo creo con toda mi persona que nunca va a ser algo que me perjudica.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Entonces, al buscar eso es que... yo he podido hacer esto que he hecho. Y mantener mi fe siempre frente a mí, es decir... Tengo... tengo una responsabilidad que hacer. Yo soy una persona recta, y los consejos que te dan, que por ejemplo, no son... no son ni siquiera son cosas muy religiosas (inaudible). Siempre te dicen, lo puedes ver en proveer, y te dice... el... ahorra tu dinero. El hombre que gasta lo que tiene

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

inmediatamente, vive por esa. Otros me dicen, "¿Eso es religioso?" No, esa no es religiosa. Es... es lógico.

R: (speaking over) Sentido común.

I: (laughs) Es sentido común, exactamente. Eh... te dice, eh, por ejemplo, dices... (inaudible) muy fuerte, que dice... eh, él que... menos precio los consejos de sus padres, termina sufriendo. Y el que... el que es una persona corregible... termina (inaudible). Ahora, no siempre el consejo de los padres es el mejor, sin embargo, yo me he mantenigo corregible... escucho cuando alguien me dice algo... y lo tomo en cuenta. Tengo que aprender de allí.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: Pero es... es simplemente... es lo más normal. Lo que haces a los demás se te va a regresar a tí. Ahora eso es algo religioso...no, es lo más normal. Entonces, muchos princípios adopté para mí. Y... y... me di cuenta que funcionaban para mi vida. Entonces mi mayor objectivo es hacer esto, como te digo. Es... es... ver donde debo de estar. Y... y por eso mismo, es de que a mí... no me molesta para nada cuando... cuando yo empecé yendo al colegio comunitario, y que... y que me daban responsabilidades que hacer que eran... necesitamos un voluntario ahora para... recoger la basura después del evento. Yo hacía. Y meses después fui presidente. Y no negué hacer esto cuando buscaban voluntario. ¿Por qué? Porque sí se... yo estoy consciente para quien trabajo. Yo soy.. y es para Dios. Yo estoy consciente de quien soy. Y a recoger basura, a no recoger basura, no me... no me hacía diferencia en si era presidente o no. Siempre estar bien seguro de quién eres y adónde vas, y... y... por qué lo haces. En...

00:14:18

R: (inhales, as if to say something.)

I: Sí...

R: Perdón.

I: (affirmative noises)

R: Y si... si te... ¿si te proyectas de aquí a... a... diez años, en dónde te vez en diez años? ¿Qué...?

I: Buena pregunta. Por un tiempo pensé que estaba en negocios. Ahora... ahora me doy cuenta que... que yo estoy en el... que yo quiero estar en el gobierno. Es donde yo quiero estar. Eh, por eso regresé aquí a la ciudad. De aquí a diez años, yo me proyecto... con una familia, ahorita casado, de esta... me proyecto, em... con una mejor relación con mis padres. Eh, ahorita con una mejor relación con mi comunidad. Y... y... espero verdaderamente... en... en Dios... que yo en ese momento ya esté en un puesto en que puede ayudar a más personas. Ahora me... me dicen, *You want to be a career politician?* Para mí, poder ser *career politician* es algo... que... tú... tus elecciones están oreadas a... poder tener un puesto. Pero siempre me dicen, *so you came back so you can get in touch with the community and... and start building your network from...within.* Por ejemplo, Kolbe me dice, es... su consejo era... me decía, *No, no, no. Justo, what you gotta' do*, me decía, *I know you're gonna'... you're gonna' make it big.* Me decía. *So what you gotta' do is... is go get an MBA, go into business, make some money, and then jump into government.* Es lo que me consejaba. Grijalva me decía, No, no, no. Lo que tú tienes que hacer es empezar a correr para el *School Board*, desde abajo con la mera

**Comment:** Las metas de Justo siempre son en función del impacto que pueda tener en otras personas. Parece muy acorde al poema de Octavio Paz citado en la dedicatoria de este trabajo.

**R: Ricardo Castro Salazar**
**I: Justo**

gente que te... que te ve... y de allí, brinca al gobierno me decía. Que esta sea tu meta, brincar al gobierno. Aprecio las dos. Sin embargo, de la manera que yo pienso ser mi vida, y precisamente no es una carrera porque... el consejo de Kolbe es para un *career politician. Someone, you want to be a politician.* Lo de Grijalva, *it's because, you do your actions because you wanna' be a politician. Well,* la manera que lo voy a hacer es que... yo tengo visiones y metas para nuestra comunidad. Y quiero que pasen. Y quiero ser parte de que pasen. Mejorar el sistema educativo, mejorar el sistema de trasporte, el tema del agua, tantas cosas. Ahora, ¿cómo lo voy a hacer para cambiar esas áreas? Voy a explorar areas. Si una de ellas es tener que tener un puesto para poder causar este cambio, pues, eso es donde me voy a ir porque es lo que necesito hacer. Pero el puesto no es mi meta. Para cambiar el tema. Mi... mi punto es cambiar el tema, y si necesito el puesto para hacer esto, es entonces a donde voy a ir. No nada más te educas para... tener el título, sino... quieres hacer algo, que necesitas educación para poder llegar allí. Entonces, pues viene el tema de cualquier, los dos consejos que me hubieran dicho, puede que... que Grijalva lo que él... lo que él dice en este momento decir, necesitamos mejorar el sistema educativo. Entonces, voy a... entonces, para poderlo hacer necesito... ser parte del *school board* como él lo era.

R: (affirmative noises)

I: *For being there, you can only do so much. To be able to... take your vision to another level, you need to run for Congress. I mean, there's no... I mean, you can't do what you want to do from that position. So what do you do? You run for Congress because that's ... that's what you want to do... that's what you need to do what you want to do. Not because you want to be there.* Entonces es... es... es a donde me veo yo, en diez años. No te puedo asegurar que estoy en un puesto de gobierno. Pero te puedo asegurar que me veo... luchando de dónde quiera que esté, por los derechos de nuestra gente. Por los derechos de la comunidad entera. Y... y... representando a... a quien yo creo que mis padres son. Y a quien yo... yo sé que tengo que ser, también.

R: *I'll vote for you.*

I: *Okay.* Perfecto. *One vote.*

R: (laughing)

I: (laughs)

(tape ends)

00:18:05

# REFERENCES


**AACC** (American Association of Community Colleges). URL: www.aacc.nche.edu. January 5, 2004.

**Acuña,** R. (2003) Occupied America: a History of Chicanos, Fifth Edition. New York : Pearson Longman.

**Aguirre Jr.**, A. (2004 Mar). "Profiling Mexican American Identity: Issues and Concern." American Behavioral Scientist, 47(7): pp. 928-942.

**Alaniz**, M.L.; Cartmill, R.S.; Parker, R.N. (1998). "Immigrants and Violence: The Importance of Neighborhood Context." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences,20(2): pp. 155-174.

**Alba** R.; Logan J.; Lutz A.; and Stults B. (2002). "Only English by the third generation? Loss and preservation of the mother tongue among the grandchildren of contemporary immigrants." Demography, 39: pp. 467-484.

**Alberta**, M.G.; Castellanos, J.; Lopez, A.G.; Rosales, R. (2005). "An Examination of Academic Nonpersistance Decisions of Latino Undergraduates." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science, 27(2): pp. 202-223.

**Alcoff**, L. & Mendieta, E. (2003). Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd.

**Allen**, J.P. (2006). "How Successful are Recent Immigrants to the United States and Their Children." Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, 68: pp. 9-32.

**Almaguer**, T. (1974). "Historical notes on Chicano oppression: The dialectics of racial and class domination in North America." Aztlán, 5(1-2): pp. 27-56.

**Alva** S.A. & Padilla, A.M. (1995). Academic invulnerability among Mexican Americans: A conceptual framework. The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students, 15: pp. 27-47.

**Álvarez-McHatton**, P.; Zalaquett, C.P.; & Cranson-Gingras A. (2006, Spring). "Achieving Success: Perceptions of Students from Migrant Farmwork Families." American Secondary Education, 34(2): pp. 25-39.

**Aman**, C.L. (2005). Responding to Demographic Change: A Case Study of Schooling and Community in Rural Nebraska. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. The Pennsylvania State University.

**American Graduate** School of International Management (Thunderbird). (2003). Economic & Community Development Report Summary. Glendale, AZ: Thunderbird.

**Andersen**, M.L. and Hill Collins, P. (2007). "Why Race, Class, and Gender Still Matter." In Andersen, M.L. and Hill Collins, P. (Eds.). Race, Class, & Gender. An Anthology (Sixth Edition) (pp. 1-16). USA: Thompson Wadsworth.

**Andrade**, J. (1998). A historical survey of Mexican immigration to the United States and an oral history of the Mexican settlement in Chicago 1920-1990. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University.

**Aranda,** E.M. and Rebollo-Gil, G. (2004, March) "Ethnoracism and the 'Sandwiched' Minorities." The American Behavioral Scientist, 47(7): pp. 910-927.

**Arce**, C.H.; Murguia, E.; & Frisbie, W. (1987, March). "Phenotype and Life Chances Among Chicanos." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9(1): pp. 19-32.

**Archibold**, R.C. (2006, Nov 10). "Democratic Victory Raises Spirits of Those Favoring Citizenship for Illegal Aliens." The New York Times. Section A, p. 27.

**Arena**, J. (2003). "Race and Hegemony." American Behavioral Scientist, 47(3): pp. 352-380.

**Arizona Board** of Regents. (2000). "Historical Context of the Bisbee Deportation." The Bisbee Deportation of 1917. A University of Arizona Web Exhibit. UA Special Collections. Online. URL: http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/bisbee. September 7, 2006.

**Arizona Chapter** of the American Mining Congress (1917?). "Deportations from Bisbee and a Resume of Other Troubles in Arizona." In The Bisbee Deportation of 1917. A University of Arizona Web Exhibit. UA Special Collections. Online. URL: http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/bisbee. September 7, 2006.

**Arizona Department of Commerce**. (2004). Mexico. Online. URL: http://www.azcommerce.com/BusAsst/International/Mexico.htm

**Arizona Health** Status and Vital Statistics 2004 report. (2004). Arizona Department of Health Services: Division of Public health Services. Online. URL: http://www.azdhs.gov/diro/reports/index.htm.

**Arizona** Independent Media Center. (2005, Dec 2). Record Year in an Escalating Crisis. Arizona Independent Media Center. No page. Online. URL: http://arizona.indymedia.org. December 22, 2005.

**Arizona Public** Defender Association (2007). "R-07-0003: Comment Regarding July 3, 2007 Order Amending Rules 4.2, 7.2, 7.4, 2.7, and 31.6 of the Rules of Criminal Procedure." Arizona Supreme Court Rules Forum. Online: http://www.supreme.state.az.us/rules/. October 27, 2007.

**Arizona** State Bulletin No. 13 (1939). Course of Study for Elementary Schools of Arizona: Instruction of Bilingual Children. Phoenix: State Department of Education.

**Armijo**, L.E. (2001). "Mixed Blessing: Expectations about Foreign Capital Flows and Democracy in Emerging Markets." In Armijo, L.E. (Ed.). Financial Globalization and Democracy in Emerging Markets (International Political Economy). New York: PALGRAVE.

**Arredondo** G.F. Hurtado, A.; Klahn, N.; and Najera-Ramirez, O. (Eds.). "Introduction: Chicana Feminism at the Crossroads: Disruptions in Dialogue." (2003). In Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader (Post-Contemporary Interventions). USA: Duke University Press.

**Associated** Press. (2007a, Nov 23). "Kids of illegal immigrants pursue American dream." Community College Times: p. 3.

**Associated** Press. (2007b, Sep 24). "Business licensees needn't prove they are citizens in AZ." The Arizona Daily Star. Tucson, AZ. Online: http://www.azstarnet.com/sn/border/202728.php.

**Associated Press** (2006, April 10). "Officials: Radio host's call to kill border crossers dangerous." KVOA.com. Tucson, AZ: WorldNow and KVOA. Online: http://kvoa.com/Global/story.asp?S=4744652&nav=HMO6. July 14, 2007.

**Associated** Press. (2005, Jul 20). Hispanic kids less likely to be insured, vaccinated. Arizona Daily Star. Online: www.AZ.Daily.Star.com.

**Associated** Press. (2004, May 15). Youngest of 11 kids takes after siblings, who all hold degrees. The San Diego Union Tribune. No page. Online. URL: http://www.signonsandiego.com/uniontrib/20040515/news_1n15degree.html. June 5, 2004.

**Attar**, B.K.; Guerra, N.G. & Tolan, P.H. (1994). "Neighborhood disadvantage, stressful life events, and adjustment in urban elementary school children." Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 23. pp. 391-400.

**Auerbach**, S. (2002). "'Why Do They Give the Good Classes to Some and Not to Others?' Latino Parent Narratives of Struggle in a College Access Program." Teachers College Record, 104(7): 1369-1392.

**BBC News**, (2006, March 13). "UK troop numbers to fall by 800." Online. URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4801624.stm. March 9, 2007.

**Bach**, R.L. (1978, Winter). "Mexican Immigration and the American State." International Migration Review (Special Issue: Illegal Mexican Immigrants to the United States), 12(4): pp. 536-558.

**Bacon**, D. (2004a, Nov). "The Political Economy of Immigration Reform." Multinational Monitor, 25(11): pp. 9-13.

**Bacon**, D. (2004b). The Children of NAFTA: Labor Wars on the U.S./Mexico Border. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

**Bagley** C. A (1992). "'Life History' of White Racism." In Leicester, M. & Taylor, M. (Eds.). Ethics, Ethnicity, and Education (pp. 176-187). London: Kogan Page.

**Bagnato**, K. (2005, Sep 22). "Undocumented Immigrants and College." Diverse Issues in Higher Education, 22(16): p.25.

**Bailey**, T. and Smith Morest, V. (2006). Defending the Community College Equity Agenda. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Baker**, R. (1996) Sociological field research with junior high school teachers. The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students, 18, 49-65.

**Bales**, K. (1999). Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Bandhauer**, C.A. (2001). A global trend in racism: The late 20th century anti-immigrant movement in southern California. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Binghamton, NY: State University of New York.

**Barclay**, E. (2005, Sep). "Mexican Migrant Communities May Be on Verge of HIV/AIDS Epidemic." Population Reference Bureau. No page. Online. URL: http://www.prb.org. August 20, 2006.

**Barndt**, J.R. (2007). Understanding and Dismantling Racism: The Twenty-First Century Challenge to White America. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

**Barkin**, D. (1997). "The Effects of Globalization on te Prospects for Sustainable Development in Mexico." International Flows and the Environment Project (World Resources Institute). Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Xochimilco. Online: http://pdf.wri.org/iffe_barkin.pdf. June 23, 2007.

**Barlett**, D. L.; Steele, J. B.; Karmatz, L.; Levinstein, J. (2004, Sep 20). Who Left the Door Open? Time, pp. 51-66.

**Barlett**, B. (2006, May 11). "The Illegal Immigrant Taxpayer." The Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition): p. A10. New York: Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

**Barrera**, M. (1990). Beyond Aztlan: Ethnic Autonomy in Comparative Perspective. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame.

**Barrett**, S.R. (2002). Culture Meets Power. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

**Battle**, J. and Cuellar, R. (2006). "Obstacles to Overcome: Mexican-American Pre-Service Teachers Share Their Insights." National Forum of Multicultural Issues Journal-Electronic Volume 3, number 2. Online. URL: http://www.nationalforum.com. Texas State University-San Marcos. August 1, 2006.

**Baumol**, W.J. & Blinder, A.S. (2005). Economics. Principles and Policy, Ninth Edition. Mason, Ohio: South-Western.

**Bell**, L.A. (2003). "Telling Tales: what stories can teach us about racism." Race, Ethnicity and Education, 6(1): 3-28.

**Bender**, P.S. and Ruiz, R.A. (1974, Oct). "Race and Class as Differential Determinants of Underachievement and Underaspiration Among Mexican-Americans and Anglos." Journal of Educational Research, 68(2): 51-55.

**Bendersky**, J.W. (1995, Summer). "The disappearance of blonds: Immigration, race and the reemergence of 'thinking white'." Telos,104. pp. 135-157.

**Benson**, L. (2007, June 18). "Importing teachers misses point." Deseret Morning News. Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Publishing Co.

**Bergman**, M. (2006, March 21). "Growth of Hispanic-Owned Businesses Triples the National Average." U.S. Census Bureau News. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. Online. URL: http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/business_ownership/ December 28, 2006.

**Bergman**, M. (2004, March 18). "Census Bureau Projects Tripling of Hispanic and Asian Populations in 50 Years; Non-Hispanic Whites May Drop To Half of Total Population." U.S. Census Bureau News. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. Online. URL: http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/population/001720.html. Dec. 26, 2006.

**Berlinger**, D. C. & Biddle, B. J. (1995). The manufactured crisis: Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on America's Public Schools. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

**Bernard**, W.S. (1998). "Immigration: History of U.S. Policy." In Jacobson, D. (Ed.). The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective (pp. 48-71). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

**Bernstein**, R. (2006, Dec 22). "Louisiana Loses Population; Arizona Edges Nevada as Fastest-Growing State." U.S. Census Bureau News. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. Online URL: http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/population/007910.html. Dec. 26, 2006.

**Best**, J.W. and J.V. Kahn. (1989). Research in Education. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

**Bhattacharyya**, G.; Gabriel, J.; & Small, S. (2002). Race and Power: Global Racism in the Twenty First Century. London: Routledge.

**Billeaud**, J. (2007, January 24). "Immigrant students in Arizona brace for higher tuition." Associated Press. Online. URL: http://www.nctimes.com/articles/2007/01/25/

**Blair**, M. (1998). The myth of neutrality in educational research. In Connolly, P. and Troyna, B. (Eds.), Researching Racism in Education. Buckingham, PA: Open University Press.

**Blanton**, C.K. (2003, Feb). "From Intellectual Deficiency to Cultural Deficiency: Mexican Americans, Testing, and Public School Policy in the American Southwest, 1920-1940." Pacific Historical Review, 72. (1), pp. 39-62.

**Bohon**, S.A.; Macpherson, H.; Atiles, J.H. (2005). "Educational Barriers for New Latinos in Georgia." Journal of Latinos & Education, 4 (1): pp. 43-58.

**Bonnand** S. (1997). "Overview." The Bisbee Deportation of 1917. A University of Arizona Web Exhibit. UA Special Collections. Online. URL: http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/bisbee. September 8, 2006.

**Bowden**, C. (1998). Juarez: The Laboratory of Our Future. New York: Aperture.

**Bowers**, C.A. (1983). "Linguistic roots of cultural invasion in Paulo Freire's pedagogy." Teachers College Record, 84. pp. 939-943.

**Breen**, T. (2004, August). "U.S. Northern Command." Armed Forces Journal International, 142. (1), pp. 54-55.

**Brandolini**, A. & Smeeding, T.M. (2006). Inequality: International Evidence. Banca d'Italia, Economic Research Department and Syracuse University and Luxemburg Income Study. Online: http://www-cpr.maxwell.syr.edu/faculty/smeeding/pdf/Palgrave_v4.pdf. November 10, 2006.

**Brenner**, M. (1985). "Intensive interviewing." In Brenner, M. Brown, J. & Canter, D. (Eds.). Research interview, uses and approaches (pp. 147-162). New York: Academic Press.

**Buchanan**, P.J. (2006). State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America. New York: Thomas Dunne Books.

**Buchanan**, P.J. (2002). The death of the West: how dying populations and immigrant invasions imperil our country and civilization. New York: Thomas Dunne Books.

**Bulkeley**, Deborah (2005, Dec 15). *Illegals' tuition break targeted.* Deseret Morning News. Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Publishing Co.

**Bustamante**, J. (1976, Jan/Feb). "Structural and Ideological Conditions of the Mexican Undocumented Immigration to the United States." The American Behavioral Scientist, 19. (3), pp. 364-376.

**Byrkit**, J.W. (1972). Life and Labor in Arizona, 1901-1921: with Particular Reference to the Deportations of 1917. Ann Arbor: Claremont Graduate School Dissertation.

**Bystedt**, J.; Lynn, S.; & Potts, D. (2003). Moderating to the Max: A Full-Tilt Guide to Creative Insightful Focus Groups and Depth Interviews. Ithaca, NY: Paramount Market Publishing.

**CBS News** (2006, June 6). Filling The Classroom Void. U.S. Schools Are Recruiting Foreign Teachers to Fill Shortages. Baltimore: CBS Broadcasting Inc. Online: http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/06/06/eveningnews/main1689748.shtml. July 23, 2007.

**CIA**. (2006). The World Factbook. Online. URL: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/. July 18, 2006.

**Cabrera**, N.L. and Padilla, A.M. (2004, May). "Entering and Succeeding in the 'Culture of College': The Story of Two Mexican Heritage Students." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 26(2): pp. 152-170.

**Cacho**, L.M. (2000, Oct). "The People of California are Suffering': The Ideology of White Injury in Discourses of Immigration." Cultural Values, 4(4): pp. 389-418.

**Cahill**, C. (2004, Aug). "Defying gravity? Raising consciousness through collective research." Children's Geographies, 2(2): pp. 273-286.

**Capps**, R.; Castaneda, R.M.; Chaudry, A.; & Santos, R. (2007, Oct 31). Paying the Price: The Impact of Immigration Raids on America's Children. Washington, D.C.: National Council of La Raza. Online. http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411566.

**Carger**, C. L. (1996). Of borders and dreams: A Mexican American experience of urban education. New York: Teachers College Record.

**Carrigan**,W.D. and Web, C. (2003). "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928." Journal of Social History, 37(2): pp. 411-438.

**Castellanos Guerreo**, A. (2001). "Notas para estudiar el racismo hacia los indios de México." Papeles de Población, 28. México: Centro de Investigación y Estudios Avanzados de la Población de la Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México.

**Castillo**, L. G., Conoley, C. W., & Brossart, D. F. (2004, April). Acculturation, White Marginalization, and Family Support as Predictors of Perceived Distress in Mexican American Female College Students. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51(2): pp. 151-157.

**Chang**, G. (2000). Disposable Domestics: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

**Chávez**, L. (2005, Dec 20). Immigration: The Real World. The Quiet Assimilation of the Undocumented. Los Angeles Times. Part B; p. 15.

**Chávez** E. (2002). "¡Mi Raza Primero!" (My People First!): Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

**Chávez**, L. (1992). Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society. Studies in Cultural Anthropology. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

**Checker** M. (2005). Polluted Promises: Environmental Racism and the Search for Justice in a Southern Town. New York: New York University Press.

**Chiquiar**, D. and Hanson, G.H. (2005). "International Migration, Self-Selection, and the Distribution of Wages: Evidence from Mexico and the United States." University of Chicago Journal of Political Economy, 113: pp. 239–281.

**Christensen**, C. (1998). The U.S.-Mexican War. San Francisco: Bay Books.

**Clarren**, R. (2003, Dec 29). "Fields of Poison." Nation, 277(22): pp. 23-25.

**Clemmer**, R.O. (1995). Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change. Boulder: Westview Press.

**Cline**, Z. (2001, May). "Silenced Now: Living the Undivided Life." The Hispanic Outlook in Higher Education, II(16). Online. University of Arizona Databases: ProQuest.

**Cockcroft**, J.D. (1986). Outlaws in the Promised Land: Mexican Immigrant Workers and America's Future. New York: Grove Press.

**Cokley**, K.O. (2002). "Testing Cross's revised racial identity model: An examination of the relationship between racial identity and internalized racialism." Journal of Counseling Psychology, 49(4): pp. 476-483.

**Coleman**, M. (2007, Oct). "A Geopolitics of Engagement: Neoliberalism, the War on Terrorism, and the Reconfiguration of US Immigration Enforcement." Geopolitics, 12(4): pp. 607-634.

**Community College** Week. (20072, Feb12). "New Law Has Immigrant Students in Arizona Bracing for Higher Tuition, Fees at Colleges." Community College Week, 19(12): pp. 4-9.

**Córdova**, T. (2005, Mar/Apr). "Agency, commitment, and connection: embracing the roots of Chicano and Chicana studies." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,18. (2), p221-233.

**Creswell**, J.W. (2002). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches (2nd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

**Creswell**, J.W. (1998). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

**Criado**, M.J. (2004). Hispanics in the United States. Working Paper. Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos.

**Crowley**, M.; Lichter, D.T.; Zhenchao, Q. (2006, Jul). "Beyond Gateway Cities: Economic Restructuring and Poverty Among Mexican Immigrant Families and Children." Family Relations, 55 (3): pp. 345-360.

**Crowley**, M. (2005, March 28). "Border War." New Republic, 232 (11/12).

**Cummings**, J. (1981) Age on arrival and immigrant second language learning in Canada: A reassessment. Applied Linguistics, 2: pp. 132-149.

**Damrosch**, L.F. (2005, April) "War and Uncertainty." The Yale Law Journal, 114(6): pp. 1405-1418.

**Darder**, A. (1991). Culture and power in the classroom: A critical foundation for bicultural education. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

**Davidson**, A.E.; Walton, P.L.; Andrews, J. (2003). Border Crossings: Thomas King's Cultural Inversions. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

**Davis**, D. (2007, August 1). "Illegal Immigrants: Uncle Sam Wants You." In These Times, 31(8): pp. 32-35.

**De Genova**, N. (2005). Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and Illegality in Mexican Chicago. USA: Duke University Press.

**De Genova**, N. (2005, April). "Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America." Latino Studies, 3(1): p. 153.

**De Genova**, N. (2004, July). "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant 'Illegality'." Latino Studies, 2(2): p. 160.

**De Genova**, N. (1998 Sep). "Race, space, and the reinvention of Latin America in Mexican Chicago." Latin American Perspectives, 25(5): pp. 87-116.

**De Hoyos**, R.E. (2005). Constructing Inequality and Poverty Indexes using Mexican ENIGH. UK: University of Cambridge Faculty of Economics. Online: http://www.econ.cam.ac.uk/phd/red29/Tools/using%20ENIGH.pdf. November 6, 2006.

**Del Castillo**, A.R. (2002, Fall). "Illegal Status and Social Citizenship: Thoughts on Mexican Immigrants in a Postnational World." Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies, 27(2): pp. 9-32.

**de Leff**, J.F. (2002, Winter). "Racism in Mexico: Cultural Roots and Clinical Interventions." Family Process, 41(4): pp. 619-623.

**Delgado**, R. (2006, May). "The Current Landscape of Race: Old Targets, New Opportunities." Michigan Law Revie,104(6): pp. 1269-1287.

**Delgado**, R. (2003, Nov). "Crossroads, Directions, and A New Critical Race Theory/Ethical Ambition: Living A Life Of Meaning And Worth." Texas Law Review, 82(1): pp. 121-152.

**Delgado**, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). Critical race theory, An introduction. New York: New York University Press.

**Delgado-Bernal**, D. "Chicana/o Education from the Civil Rights Era to the Present." In Moreno, J. F. (1999). The elusive quest for equality: 150 years of Chicano/Chicana education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.

**Delgado-Bernal**, D. (1998). "Grassroots leadership reconceptualized: Chicana oral histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles school blowouts." Frontiers, 19(2): pp. 113-142.

**Delgado-Gaitan**, C. & Trueba, H. (1991). Crossing cultural borders: Education for immigrant families in America. New York: Falmer Press.

**Delgado-Gaitan**, C. (2001). The power of community: Mobilizing for family and schooling. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

**de Marrais**, K. (2004 Apr). "Elegant communications: Sharing qualitative research with communities, colleagues, and critics." Qualitative Inquiry, 10(2): 281-297.

**D'Emilio**, J. (2000). "Cycles of Change, Questions of Strategy: The Gay and Lesbian Movement after Fifty Years." In Rimmerman, C.A.; Wald, K.D.; Wilcox, C. (Eds.). The Politics of Gay Rights (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society) (pp. 31-53). Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

**Dennis, R.** (2003). "W.E.B. Du Bois's Concept of Double Consciousness." In Stone, J. and Dennis, R. (Eds.). Race and Ethnicity: Comparative and Theoretical Approaches. USA: Blackwell Publishers.

**Derman-Sparks**, L.; Brunson-Phillips C.; & and Hilliard, A.G., III. (1997). Teaching/Learning Anti-Racism: A Developmental Approach. New York: Teachers College Press.

**Dervarics**, C. (2006, Jul 13). "Congress Takes Up Competing Bills On In-state Tuition For Illegal Immigrants." Diverse Issues in Higher Education, 23(11): p. 7.

**De Janvry**, A. and Sadoulet, E. (2001). "Adjustment policies, agriculture, and rural development in Latin America." In Singh, A. and Tabatabai, H. Economic Crisis and Third World Agriculture (pp. 118-146). New York: University of Cambridge.

**Dhunpath**, R. (Sep/Oct2000). "Life history methodology: "narradigm" regained." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in EducationVol. 13(5): pp. 543-551.

**Donato**, R. (1997). The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans During the Civil Rights Era. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

**Donato**, R. & de Onis, C. (1995, Nov). "Better middle-schooling for Mexican Americans." Education Digest, 61(3): pp. 53-56.

**Dong**, X. and Platner, J.W. (2004). "Occupational fatalities of Hispanic construction workers from 1992 to 2000." American Journal of Industrial Medicine, 45(1): 45-54.

**Dotson-Blake**, K.P. (2006). A Praxis of Empowerment: Critically Exploring Family-School-Community Partnerships in Mexico and the United States. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. School of Education: The College of William and Mary in Virginia.

**Dougherty**, K.J. (1994). "The Community College at the Crossroads: The Need for Structural Reform." Community Colleges. Eds. Ratcliff, James L. et. al. Pennsylvania State University, Center for the Study of Higher Education: Simon & Schuster Custom Publishing.

**Drachman**, E. (2006, Jan-Mar). "Access To Higher Education For Undocumented Students." Peace Review, 18(1): pp. 91-100.

**D'Souza**, D. (1996). The End of Racism. New York: Free Press.

**Dueñas-González**, R. (Ed.); Melis, I.; (2000). National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE). Language Ideologies: Critical Perspectives on the Official English Movement, Volume I: Education and the Social Implications of Official Language. USA: LEA, Inc.

**Duffy**, S. (2002). Intercultural competencies of upper secondary learners of French. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Durham, UK: University of Durham School of Education.

**Duncan-Andrade**, J.M.R. (2005, Nov). "An examination of the sociopolitical history of Chicanos and its relationship to school performance." Urban Education, 40(6): pp. 576-605.

**Eckstein**, L. (2006). Re-Membering the Black Atlantic: On the Poetics and Politics of Literary Memory (Cross/Cultures: Readings in the Post/Colonial Literatures in English, 84). Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V.

**Elenes**, A. (2002). "Border/Transformative Pedagogies at the End of the Millennium: Chicana/o Cultural Studies and Education." In Aldama, A.J. and Quiñonez, N.H. (Eds.). Decolonial Voices: Chicana and Chicano Cultural Studies in the 21st Century (pp. 245-261). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

**Ensher**, E.A.and Murphy, S.E. (1997). "Effects of race, gender, perceived similarity, and contact on mentor relationships. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 50: pp. 29-42.

**ERIC** Clearinghouse on Urban Education New York NY. (2001). Latinos in School: Some Facts and Findings. ERIC Digest Number 162. ERIC Identifier: ED449288. Online: http://www.ericdigests.org/2001-3/facts.htm.

**Eschbach**, K., J. Hagan, N. Rodriguez, R. Hernandez-Leon, and S. Bailey. (1999, Summer). "Death at the Border." International Migration Review, 33(2): pp. 430-454.

**Espinosa**, G.; Elizondo, V.; Miranda J. (2005). Latino Religions and Civic Activism in the United States. USA: Oxford University Press.

**Espinoza-Herold**, M. (2007, Sep). "Stepping beyond *Sí Se Puede: Dichos* as a Cultural Resource in Mother—Daughter Interaction in a Latino Family." Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 38(3): pp. 260-277.

**Espinoza-Herold**, M. (2003). Issues in Latino education: Race, School Culture, and the Politics of Academic Success. New York: Allyn and Bacon.

**Ewing** W.A. (2003). Migrating to Recovery: The Role of Immigration in Urban Renewal (Immigration Policy Brief). Washington, DC: T*he American Immigration Law Foundation*

**Ewing** W.A. and Johnson, B. (2003, Oct). Immigrant Success or Stagnation?: Confronting the Claim of Latino Non-Advancement. American Immigration Law Foundation. Online: http://www.ailf.org/ipc January 2006.

**Excelencia** in Education. (2004). Arizona's Human Capital: Latino Students and their Families. Washington, D.C.: Excelencia in Education. Online: http://www.edexcelencia.org/pdf/AZ-ACHE-FINAL.pdf. December 3, 2007.

**Fairchild**, A.L. (2004/April). "Policies of Inclusion: Immigrants, Disease, Dependency, and American Immigration Policy at the Dawn and Dusk of the 20th Century." American Journal of Public Health, 94(4): pp. 528-539.

**Fairlie**, R.W. (2006). Kauffman Index of Entrepreneurial Activity. National Report 1996-2005. Kansas: Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation.

**Federal Bureau** of Investigation. (2007, Nov). Hate Crime Statistics 2006. U.S. Department of Justice-Criminal Justice Information Services. Online: http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/hc2006/index.html. November 30, 2007.

**Feldblum**, M. (2000). "Managing membership: New Trends in Citizenship and Nationality Policy. In Klusmeyer, D.B. and Aleinikoff, T.A. (Eds.). From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World. USA: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Fendrich**, J.M. (1983, Jul/Aug). "Race and Ethnic Relations. The Elite Policy Response in Capitalist Societies." The American Behavioral Scientist, 26(6): pp. 757-772.

**Fernandez**, R. (2003). A Century of Chicano History: Empire, Nations and Migration. New York: Routledge.

**Ferrer**, F. (2001, Feb 15). "The 2000 election: Are civil rights gains near an end?" New York Amsterdam News, 92(7).

**Fina**, A.D. (2000, May). "Orientation in immigrant narratives: the role of ethnicity in the identification of characters." Discourse Studies, 2(2): p. 131-157.

**Financial Times**. (2006, Dec 28). "Global News Wire." Info Latina Source: Financial Times Information Limited Corporate Mexico. Online through LexisNexis. University of Arizona Databases.

**Finch**, B.K.; Kolody, B.; Vega, W.A. (2000, Sep) "Perceived Discrimination and depression among Mexican-origin Adults in California." Journal of Health & Social Behavior, 41(3): pp. 295-313.

**Fine**, M.; Jaffe-Walter, R.; Pedraza, P.; Futch, V.; Stoudt, B. (2007). "Swimming: On Oxygen, Resistance, and Possibility for Immigrant Youth under Siege." Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 38(1): 76-96.

**Finlay**, L.S. and Smith, N. (1991). "Literacy and Literature: Making or Consuming Culture?" College Literature, 18(2): 53-68.

**Fisher**, C. (2000). Relational ethics in psychological research: One feminist journey. In Brabeck, M. (Ed.), Practicing feminist ethics in psychology (pp. 125-142). Washington: American Psychological Association.

**Flores**, L.A. (2003, Dec). "Constructing Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration." Critical Studies in Media Communication, 20(4): pp.362-387.

**Flores**, L.Y.; Obasi, E.M. (2005, July). "Mentor's Influence on Mexican American Students' Career and Educational Development." Journal of Multicultural Counseling & Development, 33(3): pp. 146-164.

**Flores-Crespo**, P. (2007, May). "Ethnicity, Identity and Educational Achievement in Mexico." International Journal of Educational Development, 27(3): pp. 331-339.

**Flores**, R. (2007, Fall). "The New Face of America: Hispanics, Immigration and Higher Education." The Presidency (American Council on Education): pp. 23-25.

**Ford**, D.Y. (2005). "Recruiting and Retaining Gifted Students from Diverse Ethnic, Cultural, and Language Groups." In Banks, J.A. & McGee Banks, C.A. (Eds.). Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives (5th Edition) (pp. 379-398). USA: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

**Fordham**, F. & Ogbu, J. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the burden of acting White. Urban Review, 18: 176-206.

**Flores**, W.V. and Benmayor, R. (1997). "Constructing Cultural Citizenship." In Flores, W.V. and Benmayor, R. (Eds.). Latino Cultural Citizenship (1-26). Boston: Beacon Press.

**Fong**, R. (Ed.). (2004). Culturally Competent Practice with Immigrant and Refugee Children and Families. New York: Guilford Press.

**Fortuny**, K.; Capps, R.; Passel, P.S. (2007). The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles County, and the United States. Washington, D.C.: A Report by The Urban Institute.

**Fox**, G. (1996). Hispanic Nation. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

**Francaviglia**, R. and Richmond D.W. (Eds). (2000). Dueling Eagles: Reinterpreting the U. S.-Mexican War, 1846-1848. Texas: Christian University Press.

**Freire**, P. (1997). Mentoring the Mentor: A Critical Dialogue with Paulo Freire. New York: Peter Lang.

**Freire**, P. (1996). Letters to Cristina. Reflections on My Life and Work. New York: Routledge.

**Freire**, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the Oppressed, translation by Myra Bergman Ramos. NY: Continuum.

**Friedman**, Jonathan (1992) "The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity." American Anthropologist, 94 (4): pp. 837-859.

**Fry**, R. (2002, Sep 5). Latinos in Higher education: Many Enroll, Too Few Graduate. A Pew Hispanic Center Report. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center. Online: http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/11.pdf.

**Fuentes**, C. (2004, Spring). "Huntington and the Mask of Racism." NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly, 21(2): pp. 77-81.

**Galindo**, R.; Medina, C.; Chávez, X. (2005, Fall). "Dual Sources of Influence on Latino Political Identity: Mexico's Dual Nationality Policy and the Dream Act." Texas Hispanic Journal of Law & Policy, 11(1): pp. 74-98.

**Gándara**, P.C. (1995). Over the ivy walls: The educational mobility of low-income Chicanos. Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press.

**Gans**, J. (2007, July 19). "The Economic Impact of Immigrants in Arizona." Report commissioned by the Thomas R. Brown Foundations. Tucson: Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy at The University of Arizona

**Gans**, J. (2006). "A Primer on U.S. Immigration in a Global Economy." Immigration Policy Program at the Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy. Tucson, AZ: Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy, The University of Arizona..

**García**, E. E. (1999). "Chicanos/as in the United States: Language, bilingual education, and achievement." In Moreno, J.F. (Ed.), The elusive quest for equality. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.

**García**, J.L.A. (2004). "Three sites for racism: Social structures, valuings, and vice." In M.P. Levine and T. Pataki (Eds.) Racism in Mind (pp. 35-55). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

**García**, M.T. (1995). Memories of Chicano History: The Life and Narrative of Bert Corona. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

**Garza**, E.; Reyes, P.; & Trueba, E.T. (2004). Resiliency and Success: Migrant Children In The United States. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

**Gibson**, M.A. (2003, July). "Improving Graduation Outcomes for Migrant Students." ERIC Digest. Charleston WV: ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools. Online. URL: http://www.ericdigests.org/2004-1/outcomes.htm.

**Gibson**, M.A. and Bejínez, L.F. (2002). "Dropout Prevention: How Migrant Education Supports Mexican Youth." Journal of Latinos and Education, 3: 155-175.

**Gibson**, M.A. & Ogbu, J. (1991). Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrants and involuntary minorities. New York: Garland.

**Gibson**, M. A. (1998). "Promoting academic success among immigrant students: Is acculturation the issue?" Educational Policy, 12(6): pp. 615-633.

**Gillborn**, D. (2006, Mar). "Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and anti-racism in educational theory and praxis." Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 27(1): pp. 11-32.

**Gillborn**, D. (2005, Jul). "Education policy as an act of white supremacy: whiteness, critical race theory and education reform." Journal of Education Policy, 20(4): pp. 485-505.

**Gillborn**, D. & Mirza, H.S. (2000). Educational inequality. Mapping race, class and gender: A synthesis of research evidence. London: Office for Standards in Education. Online: http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/. October 14, 2006.

**Gillborn**, D. (1998). "Racism and the politics of qualitative research: learning from controversy and critique." In Connolly, P. and Troyna, B. (Eds.), Researching Racism in Education. Buckingham, PA: Open University Press.

**Gillborn**, D. (1995). Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools: Theory, Policy, Practice. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

**Gilory**, P. (2000). Beyond Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

**Glick**, J.E. and White, M.J. (2004, Jun). "Post-secondary school participation of immigrant and native youth: the role of familial resources and educational expectations." Social Science Research 33(2): pp. 272-299.

**Goggin**, J.A. (1984). Carter G. Woodson and the movement to promote black history. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. New York: The University of Rochester.

**Gold**, S. (2004). "From Jim Crow to racial hegemony: Evolving explanations of racial hierarchy." Ethnic & Racial Studies, 27(6): pp. 951-968.

**Goldberg**, D.T. (2002). The Racial State. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

**Gomm,** R., Hammersley, M., & Foster, P. (eds.) (2000) Case Study Method: Key Issues, Key Texts. London; Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

**González**, G.G. (2001, Fall). "The Mexican Problem: Empire, Public Policy, and the Education of Mexican Immigrants, 1880-1930." Aztlán, 26(2): pp. 199-207.

**González**, G.G. (1990). Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation. Canbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses.

**González**, J. (2006). Life Along the Border: A Landmark Tejana Thesis. USA: Texas A&M University Press.

**González**, M.L.; Macías, A.H.; & Tinajero, J.V. (1998). Educating Latino students. Lancaster, MI: Technomic Publishing.

**Gonzáles**, N.A.; Dumka, L.E.; Deardorff, J.; Carter, S.J.; and McCray, A. (2004, Jan). "Preventing Poor Mental Health and School Dropout of Mexican American Adolescents Following the Transition to Junior High School." Journal of Adolescent Research, 19(1): pp. 113-131.

**González**, N. (2001). I am my Language: Discourse of Women and Children in the Borderlands. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

**Gorman**, A. (2006, April 17). "Here Illegally, but Choosing to Pay Taxes; Some undocumented workers hope that by establishing a record of their time in the United States, it will be easier to gain citizenship later." Los Angeles Times: p. B1. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Times.

**Gott**, R. & Duggan, S. (2003). Understanding and using scientific evidence: How to critically evaluate data. London: Sage Publications.

**Gecas**, Viktor. (1973, Dec). "Self-Conceptions of Migrant and Settled Mexican Americans." Social Science Quarterly (Southwestern Social Sciences Association), 54(3): pp. 579-595.

**Grant**, E. (2005). Cumulative Advantage: A New Look at the Effect of Family Social Class on Children's Educational Achievement and the Black-White Achievement Gap. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. California: Stanford University.

**Grant**, U.S. (1995). Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant. USA: Courier Dover Publications.

**Grogger**, J. & Trejo, S.J. (2002). Falling Behind or Moving Up? The Intergenerational Progress of Mexican Americans. San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California. Online. URL: http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_502JGR.pdf.

**Groody**, G.D. (2000). Corazón y Conversión: They Dynamics of Mexican Immigration, Christian Spirituality and Human Transformation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Berkeley, CA: Graduate Theological Union.

**Grzywacz**, J.G.; Quandt, S.A.; Arcury, T.A.; Marín, A. (2005, Aug). "The work-family challenge and mental health." Community, Work & Family, 8(3): pp. 271-279.

**Guba**, E. G. (Ed.). (1990). The paradigm dialogue. Newbury Park, NJ: Sage.

**Guba**, E.G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trust-worthiness of naturalistic inquiries. Educational Communication and Technology Journal, 29: 75-92.

**Gutierrez**, D.G. (1999, Sep). "Migration, Emergent Ethnicity, and the `Third Space': The Shifting Politics of Nationalism in Greater Mexico." Journal of American History, 86(2): pp. 481-517.

**Hagemaster**, J.N. (1992, Sep). "Life history: a qualitative method of research." Journal of Advanced Nursing, 17(9): pp. 1122-1128.

**Hall**, T. and Sutton, A. (2002). "Visa Tracking." Policy Brief. New York: The Century Foundation. No page.Online. URL:http://www.tcf.org/Publications/HomelandSecurity/visatracking.pdf. August 12, 2006.

**Haney-López**, I.F. (2003). Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice. USA: President and Fellows of Harvard College.

**Haney López**, I.F. (2001, Nov). "Protest, Repression, and Race: Legal Violence and the Chicano Movement." University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 150(1): pp. 205-244.

**Hanson**, G.H. (2005). Why Does Immigration Divide America?: Public Finance And Political Opposition To Open Borders. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics

**Harrison**, R.A. (1994). Mexicans in Western motion pictures: A historical study on racism, 1894-1952. California State University, Fresno: Unpublished dissertation.

**Hatch**, J.A. and Wisniewski, R. (2005). "Life history and narrative: questions, issues, and exemplary works." In Hatch, J.A. and Wisniewski, R. (Eds.). Life History and Narrative (Qualitative Studies Series, 1) (113-136). Great Britain: Burgess Science Press.

**Heater**, D. (1999). What Is Citizenship? Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

**Hebel**, S. (2007, Nov 2). "Arizona's Colleges Are in the Crosshairs of Efforts to Curb Illegal Immigration." The Chronicle of Higher Education, 54(10): p. A15.

**Hebel**, S. (2007, March 23). "The Graduation Gap." The Chronicle of Higher Education, 53(29): p. A20.

**Herbst**, P. (1997). The Color of Words: An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Ethnic Bias in the United States. Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.

**Hernandez**, C. (1995). LULAC: The history of a grass roots organization and its influence on educational policies, 1929-1983. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Loyola University of Chicago.

**Hernández**, S. (2001, Fall). "The Legacy of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on Tejanos' Land." Journal of Popular Culture, 35(2): pp. 101-109.

**Hayes-Bautista**, D. (1997). "The Health Status of Latinos in California." Woodlands Hills, CA: The California Endowment & California Health Care Foundation.

**Hil**, R. (2005, May). "Life Lottery." New Internationalist, 378: p8

**Hill**, S. (2006, Fall). "Purity and Danger on the U.S-Mexico Border, 1991-1994." South Atlantic Quarterly, 105(4): pp. 777-799.

**Hing**, B.O. (2006). Deporting Our Souls: Values, Morality, and Immigration Policy. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

**Hinojosa-Ojeda**, R. (2003, October). "Transnational Migration, Remittances and Development in North America: Globalization Lessons from the OaxaCalifornia Transnational Village/Community Modeling Project." Conference on Remittances as a Development Tool in Mexico. Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Mexico City, Mexico.

**Hinojosa-Ojeda**, R. (2001, August 29). Comprehensive Migration Policy Reform in North America: The Key to Sustainable and Equitable Economic Integration. Los Angeles, CA: North American Integration and Development Center, University of California.

**Hiott**, A.; Grzywacz, J.G.; Arcury, T.A.; Quandt, S.A. (2006, Summer). "Gender Differences in Anxiety and Depression Among Immigrant Latinos." Families, Systems & Health: The Journal of Collaborative Family HealthCare, 24(2): pp. 137-146.

**Hirsch,** J. (2005, Dec 5). Picking a Battle Over Shortage of Farmworkers. As some winter crops may be left to rot, farm advocates lobby for immigration reform. Los Angeles Times. Part C, p. 1.

**Hirschman**, C. (2005) "Immigration and the American Century." Population Association of America. Demography, 42(4): pp. 595-620.

**Holguín-Cuádraz**, G. (2006, Winter/Spring). "Myths and the 'Politics of Exceptionality': Interpreting Chicana/o Narratives of Achievement." Oral History Review, 33 (1): pp. 83-105.

**Holleran**, L.K. (2003, Aug). "Mexican American Youth of the Southwest Borderlands: Perceptions of Ethnicity, Acculturation and Race. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science, 25(3): 352-369.

**Hondagneu-Sotelo**, P. (1994, Feb). "Regulating the Unregulated?: Domestic Workers' Social Networks." Social Problems, 41(1): pp. 50-64.

**Hovey**, J.D. (2000, Sep). "Psychosocial Predictors of Acculturative Stress in Mexican Immigrants." Journal of Psychology, 134(5): pp. 490-512.

**Huffstutter**, P.J. (2006, May 11). "Putting a Roof Over Illegal Immigrants; A state program in Illinois helps migrants get mortgages." Los Angeles Times: p. A21. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Times.

**Huntington**, S.P. (2004a, March/April). The Hispanic Challenge. Foreign Policy. Online. Full Text Electronic Journal Holdings at the University of Arizona. May 18, 2004.

**Huntington**, S.P. (2004b). Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity. New York: Simon & Schuster.

**Hurtado**, A. (1997). "Understanding Multiple Group Identities: Inserting Women into Cultural Transformations. Journal of Social Issues, 53(2): pp. 299-328.

**Iglesias**, N. (2003). "Border Representations. Border Cinema and Independent Video." In Dear, M. (Ed.). Postborder City: Cultural Spaces of Bajalta California. New York: Routledge.

**Inside** America's Largest Minority. (2005, Aug 22). Time 166(8). New York: Time.

**Instituto** Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (INEGI). (2006a). Encuesta Nacional de Ingreso Gasto de los Hogares 2000-2005. México. Online: http://www.inegi.gob.mx/. November 8, 2006.

**Instituto** Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI). (2006b, October). Number of Maquiladoras and Employment. Online: http://www.twinplantnews.com/Maquila%20Scoreboard.htm. Sep 4, 2007.

**Institute of International Education** (2006). Open Doors Online Report on International Education Exchange. http://opendoors.iienetwork.org. August 12, 2007.

**Ireland**, S. (2001). "Translating Immigrant Identities in Mounsi's *Territoire d' outré-ville*." In Ireland, S. and Proulx, P.J. (Eds.). Immigrant Narratives in Contemporary France (Contributions to the Study of World Literature) (pp. 69-82). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

**Jacobo**, J.R. (2004). Los Braceros: Memories of Bracero Workers, 1942-1964. Southern Border Press.

**Jay**, M. (2003). "Critical Race Theory, Multicultural Education, and the Hidden Curriculum of Hegemony." Multicultural Perspectives, 5(4): pp. 3-9.

**Johnson**, K.R. (2003). The "Huddled Masses" Myth: Immigration and Civil Rights. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

**Johnston**, P. (2001). "The Emergence of Transnational Citizenship among Mexican Immigrants in California." In Aleinikoff, T.A. and Klusmeyer, D.B. (Eds.). Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices. USA: International Migration Publications from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Johnston**, P. (2000). "The Resurgence of Labor As Citizenship Movement In The New Labor Relations Environment." Critical Sociology, 26(1-2): pp. 139-160.

**Jones**, S.R. (2002). "Becoming Grounded in Grounded Theory Methodology." In Merriam, S.B. (Ed.). Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis (pp. 175-177). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

**Joppke**, C. (1999). Immigration and the Nation-Sate. The United States, Germany, and Great Britain. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Jordan**, M. (2006, Oct 11). "U.S. Banks Woo Migrants, Legal Or Otherwise." The Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition): p. B1. New York: Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

**KVOA**. (2005, Dec 5). Millions of Mexicans worked in U.S. as braceros half-century ago. Associated Press. Online www.kvoa.com.

**Kao**, G. and Thompson, J.S. (2003). "Racial and ethnic stratification in educational achievement and attainment." Annual Review of Sociology, 29: pp. 417-443.

**Kaplan**, A. (2003, Oct 17). "Violent Belongings and the Question *of* Empire Today. Presidential Address to the American Studies Association." American Quarterly, 56(1): pp. 1-18.

**Kay-Oliphant**, E.J. (2005, Winter). "Considering Race in American Immigration Jurisprudence." Emory Law Journal, 54(1): pp. 681-719.

**Kennedy**, R. (2002). Psychoanalysis, History and Subjectivity. New York: Brunner-Routledge.

**Kent-Monning**, L. (2002). "The border versus Ivan Santos." Qualitative Studies in Education, 15(1): 85-97.

**Kezar**, A. & Talburt, S. (2004, Jan/Feb). "Questions of Research and Methodology." Journal of Higher Education, 75(1): pp. 1-6.

**Kich**, G.K. (1992). "The developmental process of asserting a biracial, bicultural identity." In Root, M.P.P. (Ed.). Racially Mixed People in America (pp. 304-317). Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.

**Kincheloe**, J.L.and Steinberg, S.R. (1997). Changing Multiculturalism: New Times, New Curriculum Bristol, PA: Open University Press.

**Kirk**, J. & Miller, M.L. (1986). Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research (Qualitative Research Methods). USA: Sage Publications, Inc.

**Kittrie**, O.F. (2006). "Federalism, Deportation, and Crime Victims Afraid to Call the Police." Iowa Law Review, 91: 1449-1508.

**Klusmeyer**, D.B. and Aleinikoff, T.A. (Eds.). (2000). From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World. USA: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Knapik**, Mirjam. (2002). Ethics in Qualitative Research: Searching for Practice Guidelines. University of Calgary Symposium paper: Linking Research to Educational Practice II, July 5-17, 2002. Online. URL: http://www.ucalgary.ca/~distance/cll_institute/Mirjam_Knapik.htm.

**Konradi**, A. and Schmidt, M. (2004). Reading Between The Lines: Toward an Understanding of Current Social Problems (Third Edition). New York: McGraw-Hill.

**Kornblum**, W. (1994). Sociology in a changing world. Third Edition. Forth Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

**Kronholz**, J. (2006, Sep 6). "Immigration Stalemate. Congress's Failure to Resolve Issue Feeds Ire of Activists on Both Sides." The Wall Street Journal. Online: http://online.wsj.com/public/article/SB115750314424954584-3G3Mt9JBmvFo3sBfeaPxvdBsV7M_20070906.html

**Ladson-Billings**, G.J. (1999). "Preparing Teachers for Diverse Student Populations. A Critical Race Theory Perspective." Review of Research in Education, 24: pp. 211-247.

**Ladson-Billings**, G.J. (1998). "Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?" International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11(1): pp. 7-24.

**Landau**, S. (2006, March-April). "Latino mercenaries for Bush.(Features)." Canadian Dimension, 40(2): 44-47. InfoTrac OneFile. Thomson Gale. University of Arizona Library Database. 12 Mar. 2007.

**Ledesma**, A. (2002). "Narratives of Undocumented Mexican Immigrants as Chicana/o Acts of Intellectual and Political Responsibility." In Aldama, A.J. and Quiñonez, N.H. (Eds.). Decolonial Voices: Chicana and Chicano Cultural Studies in the 21st Century (pp. 330-354). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

**Lee**, S. (1996, Spring). "Poverty and violence." Social Theory & Practice, 22(1): pp. 67-82.

**Lee**, M.K. (1983, Summer). "Multiculturalism: Educational Perspectives for the 1980s." Education, 103(4): pp. 405-409.

**Le Goff**, J.; (1992). History and Memory. Randall, S.; & Claman, E. (translators). New York: Columbia University Press.

**Lehman** J. (Ed.) (2000). Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America, 2. 2nd ed. Detroit: Gale.

**Levi**, D.E. (Sep., 1991). "C. L. R. James: A Radical West Indian Vision of American Studies." American Quarterly, 43(3): pp. 486-501.

**Lewis**, G.B. (1988, May-Jun). "Progress toward Racial and Sexual Equality in the Federal Civil Service?" Public Administration Review, 48(3): pp. 700-707

**Li**, J. (2002). Parental Expectations of Chinese Immigrants: A Folk Theory About Children's School Achievement. Unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Ottawa, Canada.

**Lichter**, D.T.; Zhenchao Q.; & Crowley, M.L. (2005, Dec). "Child Poverty Among Racial Minorities and Immigrants: Explaining Trends and Differentials." Social Science Quarterly Supplement, 86. pp. 1037-105.

**Lichter**, D.T. (1988, Jan). "Racial Differences in Underemployment in American Cities." The American Journal of Sociology, 93(4): pp. 771-792.

**Lincoln**, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). Naturalistic Inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

**Lind**, M. (1996). The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution. New York: Free Press.

**Lindauer**, O. (1996). "The Archeology of Americanization: Assimilation and Changing Identity of Phoenix Indian School Pupils." (Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University). Cultural Resource Management, 9: pp. 37-41.

**López**, D.E. and Stanton-Salazar, R.D. (2001). "Mexican-Americans: A Second Generation at Risk." In Rumbaut, R.G. and Portes, A. (Eds.). Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America (pp. 57-90). Berkeley: University of California Press.

**López,** I.H. (2004). Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice. Boston: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

**Love**, B.J. (2004). "Brown Plus 50 Counter-Story Telling: A Critical Race Theory of the 'Majoritarian Achievement Gap' Story." Equity & Excellence in Education, 37(3): pp. 227-246.

**Lowe**, S. and Conceicao, D. (2006, Nov. 14). "New Population Profiles Released by Census Bureau *American Community Survey Data Iterated by Race, Hispanic origin, Ancestry and Age.*" U.S. Census Bureau News. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce. Online. URL: http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/american_community_survey_acs

**Lowell**, B.L. and Suro, R. (2002). The improving educational profile of Latino immigrants (Pew Hispanic Center Report). Online. URL: http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=14. January 24, 2007.

**Lucas**, J. R. & Stone, G. L., (1994). Acculturation and competition among Mexican-Americans: A reconceptualization. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 16(2): pp. 129-142.

**Lucero**, H.R. (2004). Plessy to Brown: Education of Mexican Americans in Arizona public schools during the era of segregation. Doctoral Dissertation: The University of Arizona.

**Lujan**, L.; Gallegos, L.; & Harbour, C.P. (2003, Oct). "La Tercera Frontera : Building Upon the Scholarship of the Latino Experience as Reported in the Community College Journal of Research And Practice." Community College Journal of Research & Practice, 27(9/10): pp. 799-813.

**Luna**, D. (2004). When "Inclusion" Means Exclusion: The Educational Experiences of First- and Second-Generation Mexican Immigrant Females and Their Parents' Reflections. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2004 Annual Meeting. San Diego, CA. April 16, 2004.

**Macedo**, D. and Gounari, P. (2004). "Globalization and the Unleashing of New Racism: An Introduction." In Macedo, D. and Gounari, P. (Eds.). The Globalization of Racism (Series in Critical Narrative) (pp. 3-35). USA: Paradigm Publishers.

**Malkin**, M. (2002). Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals, and Other Foreign Menaces to Our Shores. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing.

**Mariscal**, J. (2005). "Homeland Security, Militarism, and the Future of Latinos and Latinas in the United States." Radical History Review, 93: pp. 39-52.

**Markovitz**, J. (2004). Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

**Marshall**, C. & Rossman, G.B. (2006). Designing Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

**Martin**, E. & Gerber, E. (2005, August 3). "Results of Recent Methodological Research on the Hispanic Origin and Race Questions." Washington, D.C.: Research Report, U.S. Bureau of the Census Statistical Research Division. Online. URL: http://www.census.gov/srd/papers/pdf/rsm2005-04.pdf. November 25, 2006.

**Martinez**, T.A. (1999). "Storytelling As Oppositional Culture: Race, Class, And Gender In The Borderlands." Race, Gender & Class, 6(3): p.33.

**Martinez**, M. and Fernández, E. (2004, Spring). "Latinos at community colleges." New Directions for Student Services, 105: pp. 51-62.

**Marvasti**, A.B. (2004). Qualitative Research in Sociology. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

**Massey**, D.S. (2005). "Five Myths about Immigration: Common Misconceptions Underlying U.S. Border-Enforcement Policy." Immigration Policy in Focus, 4(6): pp. 1-11. Washington, D.C.: Immigration Policy Center (A division of the American Immigration Law Foundation).

**Massey**, D.S.; Durand, J. and Malone, N.J. (2002). Beyond smoke and mirrors: Mexican immigration in an era of economic integration. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

**Massey**, D.S. and Espinosa, K.E. (1997). "What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis." American Journal of Sociology, 102(4): pp. 939-999.

**Massarik**, F. (1985). The interviewing process re-examined. In Reason, P. & Rowan, J. (Eds.), Human Inquiry. A sourcebook of new paradigm research (pp. 201-206). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

**Matsuda**, M. J., Lawrence, C.R., Delgado, R., & Crenshaw, K. W. (1993). Words that wound: Critical race theory, assaultive speech, and the first amendment. Boulder, CO: Westview.

**Marx**, S. (2006). Revealing the Invisible: Confronting Passive Racism in Teacher Education. New York: Routledge.

**McCollum**, P. (1998, March 15). Parental involvement in bilingual education. NABE News, 41-42.

**McCracken**, G. (1988). The long interview. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

**McDonnell**, L and Hill, P. (1993). Newcomers in American schools: Meeting the educational needs of immigrant youth. Rand: Santa Monica, CA.

**McGlynn**, A. P. (1999, March 26). Improving the future for Hispanic Americans. Hispanic Outlook: pp. 23-25

**Mcgee**, Patrick. (2005, July 24). *More illegal immigrants in colleges*. The Houston Chronicle. The Houston Chronicle Publishing Company. Section B, p. 6.

**McGuire**, S. and Martin, K. (2007, Jul/Sep). "Fractured Migrant Families: Paradoxes of Hope and Devastation." Family & Community Health. Immigrant/Migrant Health Issues. 30(3):178-188.

**McKenna**, T. (1988, Winter). "'Immigrants in Our Own Land': A Chicano Literature Review and Pedagogical Assessment." ADE Bulletin, 91. pp. 30-38. No page. Online. URL: http://www.mla.org/ade/bulletin. July 19, 2006.

**McKenzie**, P. (2004). The Mexican Texans. San Antonio, Texas: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures.

**McKinley Jr.**, J.C. (2005, March 22). "Mexican Pride and Death in U.S. Service." New York Times, 154(53161): p. A6.

**McWhirter**, E.H.; Torres, D.M.; Salgado, S.; & Valdez, M. (2007). "Perceived Barriers and Postsecondary Plans in Mexican American and White Adolescents." Journal of Career Assessment, 15(1): pp. 119-138. SAGE Publications.

**Meed**, D.V. (2002). The Mexican War 1846-1848. Great Britain: Osprey Publishing.

**Meier**, M.S. and Gutierrez, M. (2000). Encyclopedia of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

**Meier**, M. S. & Rivera, F. (1993). Mexican Americans and American Mexicans: From conquistadors to Chicanos. New York: Hill and Wang.

**Melcher**, Mary. (1999). "'This is not Right': Rural Arizona Women Challenge Segregation and Ethnic Division." Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, 20(2): pp. 190-215.

**Menchaca**, M. (1993, Aug). "Chicano Indianism: A Historical Account of Racial Repression in the United States." American Ethnologist, 20(3.): pp. 583-603.

**Méndez-Negrete**, J.; Saldaña, L.P.; Vega, A. (2006, Jan/Mar). "Can a Culturally Informed After-School Curriculum Make a Difference in Teen Pregnancy Prevention? Preliminary Evidence in the Case of San Antonio's Escuelitas." Families in Society, 87(1): pp. 95-104.

**Merriam**, S.B. (2002a). "Assessing and Evaluating Qualitative Research." In Merriam, S.B. (Ed.). Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis (pp. 18-36). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

**Merriam**, S.B. (2002b). "Reflections on doing qualitative research." In Merriam, S.B. (Ed.). Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis (pp. 420-423). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

**Merriam**, S.B.; Johnson-Bailey, J.; Lee, M.Y.; Kee, Y.; Ntseane, G.; & Muhamad, M. (2001). "Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures." International Journal of Lifelong Education, 20(5): 405-416.

**Meyer**, M.C. and Beezley, W.H. (Eds.) (2000). The Oxford History of Mexico. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Michelson**, M.R. (2001, Feb). "The Effect of National Mood on Mexican American Political Opinion." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23(1): pp. 57-70.

**Migration** Information Source (2005, Dec 1) Top 10 Migration Issues of 2005 (Issue #7: Extreme Measures: What Migrants Are Willing to Do to Get in and What Governments Will Do to Stop

Them). Migration Policy Institute. No page. Online. URL: www.migrationinformation.org December 22, 2005.

**Mills**, C.W. (2003). From Class to Race. Essays in White Marxism and Black Radicalism. USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

**Mize** Jr., R.L. (2006, Mar). "Mexican Contract Workers and the U.S. Capitalist Agricultural Labor Process: The Formative Era, 1942-1964." Rural Sociology, 71(1): pp. 85-108.

**Money**, J. (1999). Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control. U.S.A.: Cornell University Press.

**Monroe**, R. D. (2000) Congress and the Mexican war, 1844-1849. Abraham Lincoln Historical Digitization Project, Northern Illinois University Libraries. Online. URL: http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/biography4.html. July 14, 2005.

**Montoya**, A.G. (2006). Successful Latino students: A study of five Mexican American families. Phoenix, AZ: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University.

**Moody**, K. (2007, March). "Harvest of Empire." Against the Current, 22(1): 10-14.

**Morales**, E. (2002). Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America. New York: St. Martin's Press.

**Morawetz**, N. (2006). "The Invisible Border: Restrictions on Short-Term Travel for Noncitizens." New York University Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers (Paper 37). New York: New York University School of Law. Online: http://lsr.nellco.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1036&context=nyu/plltwp. June 12, 2007.

**Moreno**, J.F. (1999). The elusive quest for equality: 150 years of Chicano/Chicana education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.

**Morris**, S.D. and Passé-Smith, J. (2001). "What a Difference a Crisis Makes: NAFTA, Mexico, and the United States." Latin American Perspectives, 118(28-3): pp. 124-149.

**Morton**, A.D. (2003, Aug). "Structural change and neoliberalism in Mexico: 'passive revolution' in the global political economy." Third World Quarterly, 24(4): pp. 631-653.

**Mowry**, S. (1859, March). "Arizona and Sonora." Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society: pp. 66-75.

**Mullaly**, B. (1997). Structural Social Work: Ideology, theory, and practice (2nd ed.). Toronto, Canada: Oxford University Press.

**Murguia**, E.; Telles, E.E.. (1996, Oct). "Phenotype and Schooling among Mexican-Americans." Sociology of Education, 69(4): pp. 276-289.

**NACLA** (North American Congress on Latin America). (1992, February). Myth of Racial Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Interpretation. NACLA Report on the Americas, 25(4): pp. 40-45.

**National Center** for Public Policy and Higher Education. (2006). Measuring Up: 2006. The National Report Card on Higher Education. San Jose, CA: National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education. Online: http://measuringup.highereducation.org. December 5, 2007.

**Nearman**, C.M. (2002). No class multiculturalism: Contradictions and evasions in education. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Greensboro, NC: The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

**Nebeker**, K.C. (1998). "Critical race theory: A white graduate student's struggle with the growing area of scholarship." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11(1): pp. 25-41.

**Neubeck**, K. (2001). Welfare Racism: Playing the Race Card Against America's Poor. New York: Routledge.

**Nieto**, S. (1996). Affirming Diversity (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

**Nostrand**, R.L. (1975). "Mexican Americans Circa 1850." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 65(3): pp. 378-390.

**Nugent**, David. (1993, April 29). "Inventando las Fronteras. Inventing the Borderlands." Notes on the Conference: Mythologizing the Border: Visions and Images. Tucson: University of Arizona.

**Ogbu**, J. (1986). The consequences of the American caste system. In Neisser. U. (Ed.), The school achievement of minority children: New Perspectives. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

**Oppenheimer** , A. (2007, Nov 6). "Anti-migrant hysteria could lead to uprising." The Arizona Daily Star. Tucson, Arizona. Online: http://www.azstarnet.com/sn/printDS/210056. November 11, 2007.

**Orfield**, G. and Lee, C. (2005). Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and educational Inequality. Cambridge: Harvard University. The Civil Rights Project. Online. URL: http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu. September 22, 2006.

**Orrenius**, P. and Zavodny, M. (2001). "Self-Selection Among Undocumented Immigrants from Mexico." Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Working Paper 2001-01. Atlanta, Georgia: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Online: http://www.frbatlanta.org/frbatlanta/filelegacydocs/wp0101.pdf. July 27, 2007.

**Ortiz**, D. L. (1996). Male Hispanic high school dropout dilemma: Self-reported perceptions. The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students, 18: 35-47.

**O'Sullivan**, J. (1995, March 20). "Reverse (for) Racism." National Review, 47. (5), p. 6.

**O'Toole**, K. (2000, May 17). "Research among ethnic communities yields multiple definitions of citizenship." Stanford Online Report. Online. URL: http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/2000/may17/rosaldo-517.html. May 22, 2007.

**PCCCD** profile. (2005/2006). Pima County Community College District. Distributed by Community Relations with data from Finance Office and the Institutional Research Office.

**PRA**. (2002). Defending Immigrant Rights: An Activist Resource Kit. Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates. Online: http://www.publiceye.org/ark/immigrants/CriminalIssue.html.

**Padilla**, A. M. (1980). The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in acculturation. In Padilla, A. M. (Ed.), Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

**Padilla**, L.M. (2001, Fall). "'But You're Not A Dirty Mexican': Internalized Oppression, Latinos & Law." Texas Hispanic Journal of Law & Policy, 7(1 ): pp. 59-113.

**Parker**, L. and Stovall, D.O. (2004). "Actions Following Words: Critical race theory connects to critical pedagogy." Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36(2): pp. 167-182.

**Parker**, L., Deyhle, D., Villenas, S. (1999). Race Is ... Race Isn't. Critical Race Theory and Qualitative Studies in Education. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

**Parker**, L. & Lynn, M. (2002). "What's Race Got to Do With IT? Critical Race Theory's Conflicts with and Connections to Qualitative Research Methodology and Epistemology." Qualitative Inquiry, 8(1): pp. 7-22.

**Passel**, J.S. (2005, June 14). "Unauthorized Migrants: Numbers and Characteristics." Pew Hispanic Center. Online. URL: http://pewhispanic.org. September 12, 2006.

**Passel**, J.S. (2003). "Further Demographic Information Relating to the DREAM Act." The Urban Institute. Washington D.C.: Population Studies Center.

**Patton**, M.Q. (2002). Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

**Paz**, O. (1990). Trans. Weinberger, E.; Bishop, E.; Blackburn, P.; and Kemp, L. The Collected Poems of Octavio Paz, 1957-1987: Bilingual Edition. New York: New Directions Publishing Co.

**Pearl**, A. (2002). "The big picture: systemic and institutional factors in Chicano school failure and success." In Valencia, R.R. (Ed.). Chicano School Failure and Success (second edition) (pp. 335-364). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

**Perea**, J. F. (1992, December). Official English Laws Demography and Distrust: An Essay on American Languages, Cultural Pluralism, and Official English. Online. URL: http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/engonly1.htm. July 15, 2005

**Perin**, D. and Charron, K. (2006). "Lights Just Click on Every Day." In Bailey, T. and Smith Morest, V. Defending the Community College Equity Agenda (pp. 155-194). Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Perreira**, K.M.; Chapman, M.V.; Stein, G.L. (2006, Oct). "Becoming an American Parent: Overcoming Challenges and Finding Strength in a New Immigrant Latino Community." Journal of Family Issues, 27(10): pp. 1383-1414.

**Pew Hispanic Center**. (2006a). "Table 10: Hispanic Population by State 2000-2005." In A Statistical Portrait of Hispanic at Mid-Decade. Online. URL: http://pewhispanic.org/reports/middecade/ November 27, 2006.

**Pew Hispanic Center**. (2006b, Nov. 10). From 200 Million to 300 Million: The Numbers behind Population Growth. Pew Hispanic Center Reports and Fact Sheets. Online. URL: http://pewhispanic.org/factsheets/factsheet.php?FactsheetID=25. December 18, 2006.

**Phillips**, D.C. (1990). "Subjectivity and objectivity: An objective inquiry." In Eisner and Peshkin (Eds.) Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate (pp. 19-37). New York: Teachers College Press.

**Pilkington**, A. (2004). "Institutional racism in the Academy? Comparing the Police and University in Midshire." In Law, I.; Phillips, D.; & Turney, L. (Eds.). Institutional racism in Higher Education (pp. 15-26). UK and USA: Trentham Books.

**Ponce**, P.A. (2002). Pioneer Chicana and Chicano doctorates: An examination of their educational journey and success. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation. Los Angeles: University of California.

**Porter**, E. (2005, Apr 5). "Illegal Immigrants are Bolstering Social Security with Billions." The New York Time, Section A, p. 1.

**Portes**, A. and Bach, R.L. (1985). Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the United States. USA: University of California Press.

**Portes**, A and Rumbaut, R. (2001). Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

**Powers**, M.G. and Seltzer, W. (1998, Spring). "Occupational Status and Mobility among Undocumented Immigrants by Gender." International Migration Review, *Vol.* 32(1): pp. 21-55.

**Pritchard**, J. (2004, March 14). "AP Investigation: Mexican Worker Deaths Rise Sharply Even as Overall U.S. Job Safety Improves." The Associated Press. Online. Accessed through Lexis-Nexus Academic Universe. University of Arizona Database. December 5, 2005.

**Pulido**, L. (2007, Feb). "A Day Without Immigrants: The Racial and Class Politics of Immigrant Exclusion." Antipode 39 (1): pp. 1–7.

**Quiroga**, J. "Hispanic Voices: Is the Press Listening?" In Rodríguez, C. E. (1997). Latin Looks: Images of Latinas and Latinos in the US Media. Bolder, CO: West View Press.

**Raleigh** Yow, Valerie. Recording Oral History. A Practical Guide for Social Scientists. London: Sage Publications, 1994.

**Ramirez**, A.Y.F. (2003, Jun). "Dismay and Disappointment: Parental Involvement of Latino Immigrant Parents." Urban Review, 35(2): pp. 93-110.

**Ramírez**, S. (2002). Borders, Feminism, and Spirituality: Movements in Chicana Aesthetic Revisioning. In Aldama, A.J. and Quiñonez, N.H. (Eds.). Decolonial Voices: Chicana and Chicano Cultural Studies in the 21st Century (pp. 223-243). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

**Ramos Cardoso**, A. (2007, Oct 27). Monitoreo de Iniciativas Anti-immigrantes en Arizona. Presentation for *Fundación México* by the Mexican Consul for Media and Political Analysis. Tucson, AZ.

**Raymond**, R. and Sesnowitz, M. (1983, Apr). "Labor Market Discrimination against Mexican American College Graduates." Southern Economic Journal, 49(4): pp. 1122-1136.

**Ream** R.K. (2005). Uprooting Children: Mobility, Social Capital, and Mexican-American Underachievement (The New Americans). USA: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

**Reason**, P. (1985). Issues of validity in new paradigm research. In Reason, P. & Rowan, J. (Eds.), Human Inquiry. A sourcebook of new paradigm research (pp. 239-250). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

**Redden**, E. (2006, Nov 16). "Racism Rears Its Head." Inside Higher Ed. Online. URL: http://insidehighered.com/news/2006/11/16/racism. January 22, 2007.

**Redfield**, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation. American Anthropologist, 38: pp. 149-152.

**Rendón**, A. B. (1996). Chicano Manifesto. Berkeley, CA: Ollin & Associates.

**Renshon**, S.A. (2005). The 50% American: immigration and national identity in an age of terror. Washington, D.C. : Georgetown University Press.

**Reyes**, P.; Scribner, J.D.; and Paredes-Scribner, A. (1999). Lessons from High-Performing Hispanic Schools: Creating Learning Communities (Critical Issues in Educational Leadership Series). New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

**Rhoads**, R.A.; Saenz, V.; Carducci, R. (2005, Winter). "Higher Education Reform as a Social Movement: The Case of Affirmative Action." Review of Higher Education, 28(2): pp. 191-220.

**Ritchie**, J., Spencer, L., & O'Connor, W. (2003). Carrying out qualitative analysis. In Ritchie, J. & Lewis, J. (Eds.), Qualitative Research Practice. A guide for social science students and researchers (pp. 219-262). London: SAGE Publications.

**Rivera**, J.M. (2006). Emergence of Mexican America: Recovering Stories of Mexican Peoplehood in U.S. Culture. New York and London: New York University Press.

**Roberts**, P. (2000). Education, literacy, and humanization. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

**Robinson**, W.I. (2006). "'Aqui estamos y no nos vamos!' Global capital and immigrant rights." Race & Class. 48(2): pp. 77-91.

**Rocco**, R. (2004, Apr). "Transforming Citizenship: Membership, Strategies of Containment, and the Public Sphere in Latino Communities." Latino Studies, 2(1): pp. 4-25.

**Rodríguez**, C.E. (Ed.). (1997). Latin Looks: Images of Latinas and Latinos in the US Media. Bolder, CO: West View Press.

**Rodríguez**, N. and Hagan, J.M. (2004, Dec). "Fractured Families and Communities: Effects of Immigration Reform in Texas, Mexico, and El Salvador." Latino Studies, 2. (3). pp. 328-351

**Rodríguez**, R. (1997). Justice: A Question of Race. Bilingual Press.

**Rojas**, D.A.J. (2001). The Making of Zoot Suiters in Early 1940s Mexican Los Angeles. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Berkley: University of California.

**Romero**, M. (2006). "Racial Profiling and Immigration Law Enforcement: Rounding Up of Usual Suspects in the Latino Community." Critical Sociology, 32(2/3): pp. 447-473.

**Romo**, H.D. and Falbo, T. (1997). Latino high school graduation, defying the odds. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

**Rosales,** F.A. (1999). Pobre Raza! Violence, Justice and Mobilization among Mexico Lindo Immigrants, 1900-1936. Austin: University of Texas Press.

**Ross**, A. (Ed.) (1997). No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade, and the Rights of Garment Workers. USA: Verso.

**Rozental**, A. (2007, Feb). "The Other Side of Immigration." Current History, 106(697): pp. 89-90.

**Ruiz,** V. (2004, Summer). "Morena/o, blanca/o y café con leche: Racial Constructions in Chicana/o Historiography." Mexican Studies, 20(2): pp. 343-359.

**Ruiz,** V. (2001, Winter). "South by Southwest: Mexican Americans and Segregated Schooling, 1900-1950." Organization of American Historians (OAH) Magazine of History, 15. Online. URL: http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/deseg/ruiz.html. October 4, 2006.

**Rumbaut**, R.G. (1997). "Paradoxes (and Orthodoxies) of Assimilation." Sociological Perspectives, 40(3). pp. 483-511.

**Rumberger**, R.W. and Rodríguez, G.M. (2002). "Chicano dropouts: an update of research and policy issues." In Valencia, R.R. (Ed.). Chicano School Failure and Success (second edition) (pp 114-146). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

**Russel**, M. (1992). "Entering great America: Reflections on race and the convergence of progressive legal theory and practice." Hastings Law Journal, 43: 749-767.

**Rynkiewich**, M. A., & Spradley, J. P. (1976). Ethics and anthropology: Dilemmas in field work. New York: Wiley.

**Salas**, E.M. (2003). Factors that shape success in Mexican-American students. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Las Cruces: New Mexico State University.

**Samora**, J. and Vandel-Simon, P. (1993). A History of the Mexican-American People. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press; Revised edition.

**Sanders**, J. Jr., & Sanders, R. C. (1998, December). Anti-dropout interventions. The Educational Digest, 33-34.

**San Miguel**, G. and Valencia, R. (1998). "From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Hopwood: The educational plight and struggle of Mexican Americans in the Southwest. Harvard Educational Review, 68(3): pp. 353-412.

**Sarther**, D.P. (2006). An exploratory study of the experiences of Mexican American women attending community college. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. USA: Northern Illinois University.

**Schaefer**, R. (2005). Racial and Ethnic Groups. Tenth Edition. Prentice Hall.

**Scharf**, D.A. (2006). "For Humane Borders: Two Decades of Death And Illegal Activity In The Sonoran Desert." Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law, 38(1): pp. 141-172.

**Schmidt**, P. (2003, Nov 28). "Academe's Hispanic Future." The Chronicle of Higher Education, 50(14): p. A8. Online. URL: http://chronicle.com/weekly/v50/i14/14a00801.htm. February 16, 2007.

**Schneider**, G.; Knoedler, J.; & Sackrey, C. (2005). Introduction to Political Economy, 4th edition. Boston, MA: Economic Affairs Bureau, Inc., Capital City Press.

**Segal**, E.A. and Kilty, K.M. (2003). "Political Promises for Welfare Reform." In Kilty, K.M and Segal, E.A. (Eds.). Rediscovering the Other America: The Continuing Crisis of Poverty and Inequality in the United States (51-68). USA: The Haworth Press.

**Seidman**, I. E. (2006). Interviewing as qualitative research: a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences. New York: Teachers College Press.

**Shannon**, S.M. and Escamilla, K. (1999). "Mexican Immigrants in U.S. Schools: Targets of Symbolic Violence." Educational Policy, 13(3): 347-370.

**Shannon**, S. M. & Latimer, S. L. (1996, Summer). Latino parent involvement in schools: A story of struggle and resistance. The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students, 16: pp.301-319.

**Shannon**, S.M. (1996, Nov). "Minority Parental Involvement. A Mexican Mother's Experience and a Teacher's Interpretation." Education & Urban Society, 29(1): pp. 71-84.

**Sheridan**, T.E. (1995). Arizona. A History. Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press.

**Sheridan**, T.E. (1986). Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1841-1941. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press.

**Shields**, C.M. (2004, Feb). "Dialogic Leadership for Social Justice: Overcoming Pathologies of Silence." Educational Administration Quarterly, 40(1): pp. 111-134.

**Sieber** S.D. (2005). Second-Rate Nation: From the American Dream to the American Myth. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

**Sieber**, J.E. (1992). Planning Ethically Responsible Research. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

**Simon**, J.L. (1995). Immigration. The Demographic and Economic Facts. the Cato Institute and the National Immigration Forum. Online. URL: http://www.cato.org/pubs/policy_report/pr-immig.html.

**Sin** C.H. (2005, Apr). "Experiencing racism: Reflections on the practice of research with minority ethnic older people in Britain." International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 8(2): pp.101-115.

**Skrentny**, J.D. (1996). The Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture, and Justice in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Smith**, J.P. & Edmonston, B. Eds, (1997). The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration. Washington, DC: National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences Press.

**Smith**, M.C. (1994). Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose, 1918-1941. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

**Smith**, N. (2002, June). "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy." Antipode, 34(3): pp. 427-450.

**Smith**, P.H. (1996). "Mexico since 1946." In Bethell, L. (Ed.). The Cambridge History of Latin America (pp. 83-159). USA: Cambridge University Press.

**Smith**, R.C. (2005). Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

**Solórzano**, D.G.; Yosso, T.J. (2002, Feb). "Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research." Qualitative Inquiry, 8(1): pp. 23-54.

**Solorzano**, D.G. and Yosso, T.J. (2001). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: counter-storytelling. Qualitative Studies in Education, 14(4): pp. 471-495.

**Solorzano**, D.G. and Yosso, T.J. (2000). "Toward a critical race theory of Chicana and Chicano education." In Tejada, C.; Martínez, C.; & Leonardo, Z. (Eds.). Charting new terrains of Chicana(o)/Latina(o) education (pp. 35-65). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton.

**Song**, M. and Parker, D. (1995, May). "Commonality, difference and the dynamics of disclosure in in-depth interviewing." Sociology, 29(2): pp. 241-256.

**Soros**, G. (1998). The Crisis of Global Capitalism: Open Society Endangered. USA: Public Affairs.

**Sosa**, A. (1993). Thorough and fair. Charleston, NC: Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools.

**Sotomayor**, Frank (1983, July 25). "A box full of ethnic labels." The Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles: The Times Mirror Company. Online. URL: http://www-new.latinosandmedia.org/jawards/works/LAT83_008.html. July 15, 2005.

**Sowell**, T. (2004). Affirmative Action Around the World: An Empirical Study. USA: R.R. Donnalley & Sons.

**Sowell**, T. (1984). Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.

**SPL Center**. (2007, Spring). Intelligence Report. The Year in Hate. Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center. Online: http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=762. July 22, 2007

**Stanton-Salazar**, R.D., 1997. "A social capital framework for understanding the socialization of racial minority children and youths." Harvard Educational Review, 67(1): pp. 1–40.

**Stanton-Salazar**, R.D.; Dornbusch, S.M. (1995, Apr). "Social Capital and the Reproduction of Inequality: Information Networks among Mexican-origin High School Students." Sociology of Education, 68(2): pp. 116-135.

**Stavans**, I. (2003). Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language. New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc.

**Stavans**, I. (2001). The Hispanic Condition: The Power of a People. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

**Steele**, E.J. (2004). Defensive Racism. Sagle, ID: ProPer Press.

**St-Hilaire**, A. (2002, Dec). "The Social adaptation of Children of Mexican Immigrants: Educational Aspirations Beyond Junior High School." Social Science Quarterly, 83(4): pp.1026-1043.

**St-Hilaire**, A. 2001. "Segmented Assimilation." In Ciment J., ed. Encyclopedia of American Immigration, 2 (pp. 460–467). Amonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

**Stein**, R. F. (1990). Closing the achievement gap of Mexican-Americans: A question of language, learning style, or economics? Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 11: pp. 405-419.

**Steinberg**, S. (1981). The Ethnic Myth. Boston, MA: Atheneum Publishers.

**Stern**, G. M. (1996, September 13). What to do about the Hispanic high school dropout rate: Hispanic dropout project takes the lead. Hispanic Outlook: pp. 5-6.

**Stewart**, D. M. (1998, April). Why Hispanics need to take the SAT. The Education Digest: pp. 33-36.

**Stoler**, A.L. (1997). "Racial Histories and their Regimes of Truth." Davis, D.E. (Ed.). Political Power and Social Theory (pp. 183-206). London: JAI Press Inc.

**Stone**, S. & Han, M. (2005, Jan). "Perceived school environments, perceived discrimination, and school performance among children of Mexican immigrants." Children & Youth Services Review, 27(1): pp. 51-66.

**Suárez-Orozco**, C.; Todorova, I.L.G.; & Louie, J. (2002). "Making up for lost time: The experience of separation and reunification among immigrant families." Family Process 41(4): pp. 625–643.

**Suárez-Orozco**, M. M., & Páez, M. M. (2002). Latinos: Remaking America. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

**Sullivan**, M.M. and Rehm, R. (2005, Jul-Sep). "Mental Health of Undocumented Mexican Immigrants." Advances in Nursing Science, 28(3): pp. 240-251.

**Sullivan**, S. and Tuana, N. (Eds) (2007). Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

**Suro**, R. and Escobar, G. (2006, July 13). 2006 National Survey of Latinos: The Immigration Debate. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center. Online. URL: http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/68.pdf. December 31, 2006.

**Szapocznik**, J.; Scopetta, M.A.; Kurtines, W.; & Arnalde, M.A. (1978). "Theory and measurement of acculturation." Interamerican Journal of Psychology, 12. pp. 113-130.

**Szelényi**, K. and Chang, J.C. (2002, Fall). "Educating Immigrants: The Community College Role." Community College Review, 30(2): pp. 55-73.

**Takaki** R. (2007a, July 4) interviewed by Rebecca Roberts. "That's America to me." Talk of the Nation. National Public Radio (NPR). NPR: Washington, D.C. Online: http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=11735190

**Takaki**, R. (2007b, Jun 1). "A Different Mirror: Studying the Past for the Sake of the Future." A Conversation with Ronald Takaki. National Conference on Race and Ethnicity. San Francisco, CA.

**Takaki**, R. (1993). A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America. USA: Back Bay Books.

**Tancredo**, T. (2006). In Mortal Danger: The Battle for America's Border and Security. Nashville, TN: WND Books

**Taylor Gibbs**, J. & Bankhead, T. (2001) Preserving Privilege: California Politics, Propositions, and People of Color. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

**Teske**, R.H.C. and Nelson, B.H. (1974, May). "Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification." American Ethnologist, 1(2): pp. 351-367.

**The Economist** (2007, Jul 5th). "Illegal immigration. Nowhere to hide." The Economist. Online. URL: http://www.economist.com. Access by subscription. July 26, 2007.

**The Economist**. (2006, Oct 26). "The American economy. Slow road ahead." The Economist. Online. URL: http://www.economist.com. Access by subscription. December 27, 2006.

**The Economist** (2001, Jan 25). The immigration contradiction. The Economist. Online. URL: http://www.economist.com. Access by subscription. June 12, 2007.

**The Economist**. (2000, March 9). "Oh, say, can you see?" The Economist. Online. URL: http://www.economist.com. Access by subscription. November 30, 2006.

**Thomas**, J. (1993). Doing Critical Ethnography. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

**Thompson**, M.S., Alexander, K.L. and Entwisle, D.R. (1988). "Household composition, parental expectations and school achievement." Social Forces, 67(2): pp. 424–451.

**Tienda**, M. and Mitchell, F. (2006). Multiple Origins, Uncertain Destinies: Hispanics and the American Future (National Research Council. Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education). USA: National Academies Press.

**Tierney**, W. (1993). Building communities of difference: higher education in the twenty-first century. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

**Tinto**, V. (1987). Leaving college. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Toh**, S.H. (2004, June 17). Uprooting Violence, Cultivating Peace: Education for an Engaged Spirituality. Lecture. Griffith University. Online. URL: http://www.griffith.edu.au/ins/collections/proflects/toh04.pdf. December 8, 2006.

**Tocqueville**, A. (2003). Democracy in America. New York: Random House, Inc.

**Toussaint-Comeau**, M. (2006, Fall). "The Occupational Assimilation of Hispanic Immigrants in the U.S.: Evidence from Panel Data." International Migration Review, 40(3): pp. 508-536.

**Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.** (1848, February 2). The Library of Congress Online Collections. URL: http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/ghtreaty. August, 2, 2006.

**Trueba**, H. T. (1983). "Adjustment problems of Mexican and Mexican-American students: An anthropological study." Learning Disabilities Quarterly, 6(4): pp. 393-415.

**Trueba**, H. T. (1989). Raising silent voices. Boston: Heinie and Heinie.

**Trueba**, H. T. (1993). "Castification in multicultural America." In Trueba, H.; Rodríguez, C.; Zou, Y. & Cintron, J. (Eds.), Healing multicultural America: Mexican immigrants rise to power in rural California. Washington, D. C.: Falmer.

**United Nations** General Assembly (1948, Dec 10). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations Department of Public Information. Geneva, Switzerland: UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Online: http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr. November 19, 2007.

**University** Communications (2006, April 18). "Media and Immigration Topic for UA Media, Democracy and Policy Learning Institute." UANEWS.ORG. Tucson: University of Arizona. Online. URL: http://uanews.org. January 12, 2007.

**University** of New Mexico Changing Name of Chicano Program. (2004, Nov, 18) Black Issues in Higher Education, 21: p. 20.

**U.S. Census** Bureau (2007, Feb). The American Community. Hispanics: 2004. US Census Bureau. Online: http://www.census.gov/prod/2007pubs/acs-03.pdf. July 22, 2007.

**U.S. Census** Bureau (2006a, April). Facts for Features: *Special Edition* Cinco de Mayo. Census Bureau's Public Information Office. Online. URL: http://www.census.gov. July 19, 2006.

**U.S. Census** Bureau (2006b). "Question and Answer Center" U.S. Census Bureau Online. URL: http://www.census.gov. December 4, 2006.

**U.S. Census** Bureau (2006c). Facts for Features. Hispanic Heritage Month, Sept. 15 – Oct 15, 2006. Census Bureau's Public Information Office. Online. URL: http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/. December 26, 2006.

**U.S. Census** Bureau (2002). American Community Survey Summary Tables: P039 & PCT006.

**U.S. Census** Bureau. (2000). Profile of General Demographic Characteristics. No page, Online. URL: http://www.census.gov/ August 28, 2004.

**U.S. Department** of Education. (2007, Sep). Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Minorities. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Education Sciences (IES), National Center for Education Statistics. http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2007/minoritytrends/index.asp. September 17, 2007.

**Valencia**, R.R. (2005). The Mexican American Struggle for Equal Educational Opportunity in *Mendez v. Westminster*: Helping to Pave the Way for *Brown v. Board of Education*. Teachers College Record 107 (3), 389-423.

**Valencia**, R.R. & Black, M.S. (2002). "'Mexican Americans Don't Value Education!' On the Basis of the Myth, Mythmaking, and Debunking." Journal of Latinos and Education, 1 (2), pp. 81-103.

**Valencia**, R.R. (Ed.). (2002). Chicano School Failure and Success (second edition). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

**Valencia**, R.R. and Solorzano, D. (1997). "Contemporary deficit thinking." In Valencia R. (Ed.). The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice (pp. 160-210). Albany: State University of New York Press.

**Valencia**, R.R. (1991). Chicano school failure and success: Research and policy agendas for the 1990s. London: Falmer Press.

**Valenzuela**, A. (1999). Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

**Van Hook**, J. and Balistreri K.S. (2002, Nov). "Diversity and change in the institutional context of immigrant adaptation: California schools 1985-2000." Demography, 39(4): pp. 639-354.

**Varsanyi**, M.W. (2006, May). "Interrogating "Urban Citizenship" vis-à-vis *Undocumented* Migration." Citizenship Studies, 10(2): pp. 229-249.

**Vasquez**, M. (2001). "Latinos ¡Viva La Diferencia!" CRM Journal, 5: pp. 22-24.

**Velázquez**, L.C. (1998). "Some Facts about Hispanics and Education in the USA." In Ebert, O. & Hawk, W. (Eds.), ESL Start-up Kit. Online. URL: http://cls.coe.utk.edu/lpm/esltoolkit/default.html#toc. July 20, 2004.

**Vélez-Ibáñez**, C.G. (2004, Spring). "Regions of Refuge in the United States: Issues, Problems, and Concerns for the Future of Mexican-Origin Populations in the United States." Human Organization, 63(1): pp. 1-20.

**Vélez-Ibáñez**, C.G. (1996). Border Visions: Mexican cultures of the Southwest United States. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

**Veranes**, M. and Navarro, A. (2005, June 1). Anti-Immigrant Legislation in Arizona Leads to Calls for a State Boycott. Silver City, NM: Americas Program, International Relations Center. Online: http://americas.irc-online.org/articles/2005/0506prop200.html, July 17, 2005.

**Vertovec**, S. (2004). "Trends and Impacts of Migrant Transnationalism." Social Science Research Council / International Migration Review Conference on 'Conceptual and Methodological Developments in the Study of International Migration' (Princeton University, 23-25 May 2003). University of Oxford: Center on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper No. 3.

**Villalpando**, O. (2004, Spring). Practical considerations of critical race theory and Latino critical theory for Latino college students. New Directions for Student Services, 105. pp. 41-50.

**Villalpando**, O. (2003, Sep/Oct). "Self-segregation or self-preservation? A critical race theory and Latina/o critical theory analysis of a study of Chicana/o college student." Qualitative Studies in Education, 16(5): pp. 619-646.

**Villenas**, S. & Deyhle, D. (1999). "Critical race theory and ethnographies challenging the stereotypes: Latino families, schooling, resilience and resistance." Curriculum Inquiry, 29(4): pp. 413-445.

**Wall Street Journal**, Editorial (2005, May 4). "Immigration Reality Check." The Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition): p. A-18. New York: Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

**Wall Street Journal**, Editorial. (2006, June 20). "Immigration Consensus." The Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition): p. A20. New York: Dow Jones & Company, Inc.

**Warf**, B. (2006). "Demographic Transition." In Warf, B. (Ed.). Encyclopedia of Human Geography (pp. 92-94). Thousand Oaks: Sage Reference.

**Warren**, J. R. (1996, April). Educational-origin inequality among white and Mexican-origin adolescents in the American Southwest. Sociology of Education, 69: 142-158.

**Washington Post**. (1996, Nov 2). "As Peso Slips, Mexicans Fear a Repeat of 1994's Economic crisis." Washington Post: p. A-19. Mexico City: The Washington Post Foreign Service.

**Watson**, C. (2006). "Unreliable narrators? 'Inconsistency' (and some inconstancy) in interviews." Qualitative Research, 6(3): pp. 367-384.

**Watson** F. (1977, Summer). "Still on Strike! Recollections of a Bisbee Deportee." Journal of Arizona History, 18. pp. 171-184. Online. URL: http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/bisbee/docs/jahwats.html September 4, 2006.

**Weaver** C.N. (2005). "The Changing Image of Hispanic Americans." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27(3): 337-354

**Weaver** C.N. (2000, Aug). "Work Attitudes of Mexican Americans." Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 22(3): pp. 275-295.

Webster's New Colligiate Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company.

**Weider** History Group. (2006, Oct). "Always an Immigrant Nation." American History, 41(4): p. 19.

**Weiler**, K. (2003, Summer). "Paulo Freire: on hope." Radical Teacher. Online. URL: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0JVP/is_67/ai_108722201. January 14, 2007.

**Weinberg**, M. (1977). A chance to learn. London: Cambridge University Press.

**Weiner**, L. (2006, Sep). "Challenging Deficit Thinking." Educational Leadership, 64(1): pp. 42-45. University of Arizona electronic databases: Academic Search Premier.

**Whalen**, B. (2005, August 30). "Nativo American; Meet Nativo Lopez, the Latino Al Sharpton. He's changing California politics--for the worse." The Weekly Standard. Online. University of Arizona Databases: LexisNexis. August 7, 2006.

**White**, M.J. and Glick, J.E. (2000, Dec). "Generation Status, Social Capital, and the Routes Out of High School." Sociological Forum,15(4): pp. 671-92.

**White**, S. (2003). The Civic Minimum: On the Rights and Obligations of Economic Citizenship (Oxford Political Theory). New York: Oxford University Press.

**Wilmot**, F. (2006, Feb 1). "Inside the Data Center." IN Context, 7(2): p. 5.

**Wilson**, E.J. (2004). Diversity and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Reader. New York, London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

**Wilson**, T.D. (2000, June). "Anti-immigrant Sentiment and the Problem of Reproduction/Maintenance in Mexican Immigration to the United States." Critique of Anthropology, 20(2): pp. 191-213.

**Winant**, H. (1994). Racial Conditions: Politics, Theory, Comparisons. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

**Witt**, H. (2007, Sep 25). "School discipline tougher on African Americans." Chicago Tribune Web Edition. Online. URL: http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-070924discipline,1,6597576.story?ctrack=1&cset=true. Sep 29, 2007.

**Wittgenstein**, L. (1969). On Certainty. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.

**Wolvin**, A.D. & Coakley, C.G. (1993). Perspectives on Listening. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

**Wong**, J. (2006). Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions (The Politics of Race and Ethnicity). USA: The University of Michigan Press.

**Wright**, W.E. (2005, Spring). "English Language Learners Left Behind in Arizona: The Nullification of Accommodations in the Intersection of Federal and State Policies." Bilingual Research Journal, 29(1): pp. 1-29.

**Yamamoto**, E.K. (1997). "Critical Race Praxis: Race theory and political lawyering practice in post-Civil Rights America." Michigan Law Review, 95: 821-900.

**Yosso**, T.J. (2006). Critical Race Counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano Educational Pipeline (The Teaching/Learning Social Justice). New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

**Yosso**, T.J. (2002, Spring). "Critical Race Media Literacy: Challenging Deficit Discourse about Cicanas/os." Journal of Popular Film & Television, 30(1): pp. 52-62.

**Yin**, R.K. (2003, 3rd Edition). Applications of Case Study Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

**Zehr**, M.A. (2006a, Aug 30). "Appeals Court Rejects Orders For English-Learners in Arizona." Education Week, 26(1): p. 33.

**Zehr**, M.A. (2006b, Jan 4). "Arizona Gets Ultimatum on Aid for English-Learners." Education Week. National Association of Bilingual Education. Online. URL: http://www.nabe.org. January 8, 2006.

**Zehr**, M.A. (2002, March 27). "Oregon School District Reaches Out To New Arrivals From Mexico." Education Week, 21(28).

**Zavodny,** M. (2000, Jul). "The effects of official English laws on limited-English-proficient workers." Journal of Labor Economics, 18(3): pp. 427-452.

**Zeiss**, T. (2006, Aug/Sep). "Baby Boomers: An Encore Opportunity." Community College Journal: pp. 39-41.